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PROCEEDINGS OF THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

VOLUME I

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FBIS DAILY REPORT
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Soviet Union

Vol III No 036 Supp 001 24 February 1981

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REPORT ON 26TH CPSU CONGRESS FIRST DAY SESSION

Morning Session Begins

LD230942 Moscow TASS in English 0927 GMT 23 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow, 23 Feb, TASS--The 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) began its work at ten a.m. today. About five thousand delegates representing seventeen and a half million Soviet communists have gathered in the Palace of Congresses which is on the premises of the Moscow Kremlin. They have been elected in accordance with the CPSU rules by secret ballot at city, regional and territorial party conferences and at the congresses of the communist parties of the union republics of the USSR.

Among the delegates to the 26th Congress of the CPSU are the finest representatives of the Soviet working class, collective-farm peasantry, intelligentsia, veterans of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, and servicemen of the Soviet Army and the Navy.

A plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee was held in Moscow last Friday. The plenum unanimously approved the text of the "Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress of the CPSU and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in the Field of Home and Foreign Policy" as well as the text of a report on the Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the Period to 1990.

The 26th Congress of the CPSU was declared open by Leonid Brezhnev, the general secretary of the party's Central Committee.

The governing bodies of the congress were elected unanimously. Mikhail Suslov, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said in his speech at the congress:

"We announce with great satisfaction," he said, "that 123 delegations from the communist, workers', national-democratic and other parties and organisations from 109 countries of all the continents of the planet have arrived at the 26th congress at the invitation of the Central Committee."

On behalf of the delegates of the congress, all Soviet communists, Mikhail Suslov cordially welcomed the foreign guests, expressed sincere gratitude to the leadership of the parties which sent their representatives to the CPSU congress. "The presence at the congress of prominent figures in the international, communist, workers' and liberation movement," he stressed, "is convincing evidence of the viability of internationalism, the ideas of solidarity and unity of the present-day revolutionary forces."

The delegates have unanimously approved the following order of proceedings of the congress:

1. The Report of the CPSU Central Committee and the Immediate Tasks of the Party in the Field of Home and Foreign Policy. The speaker--General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev.

2. The Report of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU. The speaker--Commission Chairman Gennadiy Sizov.

3. The Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and the Period to 1990. The speaker--Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Tikhonov.

4. Elections of the Party's Central Bodies.

General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev has delivered the party Central Committee report, Leonid Brezhnev was welcomed with stormy, prolonged applause of the delegates and guests of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Brezhnev, Others Present

LD231340 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 23 Feb 81

[Text] Today the work began of the 26th CPSU Congress in festive surroundings in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses. At 0700 the delegates and guests of the congress greeted Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and members of the Central Committee Politburo Comrades Andropov, Gorbachev, Grishin, Gromyko, Kirilenko, Kunayev, Pelshe, Romanov, Suslov, Tikhonov, Ustinov, Chernenko and Shcherbitskiy with thunderous applause which did not die down for a long time.

Brezhnev Opening Speech

LD230821 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 23 Feb 81

[Speech by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev opening the 26th CPSU Congress at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses--live]

[Text] Comrade delegates, 5002 people have been elected as delegates to the 26th CPSU Congress. There are 4,994 delegates present at the congress. Eight delegates are absent because of illness and other legitimate reasons. On the instructions of the CPSU Central Committee, I declare the 26th CPSU Congress open. [applause]

Comrades, we are to elect the leading organs of the congress--the presidium, secretariat, editorial and credentials commissions. In accordance with tradition, a session of the council of representatives of the delegations from republican, kray and oblast party organizations was held in the Kremlin on 20 February. Proposals on the composition of the leading organs of the congress were prepared at this session.

The council's proposals are presented for your consideration. They were handed to all delegates at registration. Above all, we are to examine the question of the congress presidium. The Council of Respresentatives of the delegations proposes that 124 people be elected to the presidium. Do delegates have any points to make or other proposals on the numerical makeup and individual membership of the presidium? There are no other proposals? No. So let us take a vote. How shall we vote--individually or collectively? ["collectively" shout the delegates] Collectively. No objections? Motion passed.

All those in favor of electing the congress presidium in the composition proposed by the council of representatives of the delegations, please raise their temporary passes and I will raise mine [words indistinct] [laughter from the hall] Passed unanimously. Comrades, I ask the elected members of the congress presidium to take their places. [applause]

Suslov Opening Speech

LD231920 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0705 GMT 23 Feb 81

[Speech by Mikhail Suslov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and member of the party Central Committee, at the opening session of the 26th CPSU Congress at the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses--live]

[Text] Comrades, permit me to continue forming the necessary bodies of the congress. The proposal on the composition of the secretariat, drafting and credentials commissions is already with the delegates. So shall we vote by list or individually? By list--no other proposals? No.

We will turn to the election of the congress secretariat. The council of representatives of the delegations proposes to elect a secretariat of 29 persons. Are there any comments regarding the number or personnel of the secretariat? No. Let us vote. Those in favor of electing the congress secretariat in the proposed form please raise their temporary certificates [vremennoye udostovereniye]. Thank you. Who is against? Any abstentions? No. The congress secretariat is elected unanimously. [applause]

Permit me to turn to the election of the congress drafting commission. The council of representatives of delegations recommends that the drafting commission be composed of 29 persons. Are there any other proposals regarding the number or individual composition of the drafting commission? No. Let us vote. Those in favor of electing the drafting commission in the proposed form, please raise their temporary certificates. Thank you. Who is against? Any abstentions? No. The congress drafting commission is elected unanimously. [applause]

The next item is the election of the credentials commission.

There is a proposal by the council of representatives of delegations to elect the 45 members of the credentials commission.

Does anyone among the delegates wish to speak regarding the quantitative and personnel composition of the credentials commission? No one.

I ask you to vote: Who is for the election of the congress credentials commission in the composition proposed by the council of representatives of delegations, please raise your credentials. You may lower them. Who is against? None. Any abstentions? None. The congress credentials commission has been elected unanimously. [applause]

Delegates elected to the secretariat, the drafting commission, and the credentials commission are requested to begin their duties.

Comrades: It is a great pleasure for us to announce that 123 delegations of communist, workers, revolutionary-democratic and other parties and organizations from 109 countries from all over the world have arrived for the 26th congress at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. [applause]

Allow me, on your behalf, on behalf of all Soviet communists cordially to welcome the dear guests and express deep gratitude to the leadership of parties who have sent their representatives to our congress. The presence at the congress of eminent figures from the international, communist, workers and liberation movement is convincing testimony to the vitality of internationalism and the ideas of solidarity and cohesion of the revolutionary forces of modern times. [applause]

Taking part in the work of the congress are delegations from 12 fraternal parties from the socialist countries. We warmly greet the communists of the countries of socialism which are building a new, genuinely just, society and which are reliably upholding the cause of peace and the security of peoples. [applause]

Present in this hall are 23 communist... (pauses and rereads correctly] delegates from 23 communist and workers parties from West Europe, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. Fraternal greetings to the steadfast fighters against exploitation and oppression by the monopolies and for the rights of the working people, for peace, democracy and socialism. [applause]

Present at our congress are representatives from 30 communist and workers parties from the countries of Asia. We sincerely welcome the delegations from these parties which are fighting against imperialism and hegemonism, for the national independence and social progress of their peoples, for the peace and security of their continent. [applause]

Also with us here are delegations from 33 communist and workers parties of African countries. Let us welcome in a fraternal way these courageous fighters for the continent's total liberation from colonialism and racism, for the free, independent and progressive development of the peoples of Africa. [applause]

Twenty-seven communist and workers parties of Latin America have sent their delegations to the congress. We welcome our comrades in the communist movement who are struggling against imperialism, reaction and fascism for the free democratic development of the countries of that continent, for social progress. [applause]

We also have pleasure in noting that present here are delegations of many revolutionary-democratic parties, of that great and influential detachment of forces of national liberation, of forces of national and social liberation. On behalf of the congress, let us greet them in a comradely fashion. [applause]

Representatives and delegations of other parties, political movements and organizations with which the CPSU maintains regular friendly links and contacts, have also come to the congress. The 26th congress of Soviet communists welcomes these dear guests. [applause]

Comrades, since the 25th congress we have suffered a grievous loss: Prominent figures of the party and state have passed away--Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin, Andrey Antonovich Grechko, Fedor Davidovich Kulakov, Petr Mironovich Masherov, Mstislav Vsevolodovich Keldysh. Over the years, the world communist, workers' and national liberation movements have lost many heroic fighters for the cause of the working class, of all working people, for democracy and socialism. Josip Broz Tito, too, has also passed on, as have Ludvik Svoboda, Ton Duc Thang, Arnedo Alvarez, Knud Jespersen, Luigi Longo, Marx Reimann, Houari Boumediene, Agostinho Neto, Marien Ngouabi. We shall always cherish in our hearts the names of those friends and comrades-in-arms who have passed away and perished. Let us do homage to their bright memory by standing and observing a minute's silence. [delegates stand]

Comrade delegates, we must ratify the agenda and procedure for the work of the 26th congress. The congress agenda proposed by the council of delegate representatives has been distributed to you. Allow me to remind you of it:

First, the report of the CPSU Central Committee and the party's next tasks in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy. Rapporteur Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. [applause]

Second, the report of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, rapporteur Comrade Sizov, chairman of the Central Auditing Commission.

Third, the Guidelines of the USSR's Economic and Social Development for 1981-1985 and for the Period up to 1990, rapporteur Comrade Tikhonov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. [applause]

Fourth, the elections of the party central organs.

The proposals of the council of representatives have also been distributed in respect to work procedure. Have you any comments to make on the agenda and the procedure for the work of the congress? Whoever is ready to ratify the proposed agenda and procedure of the congress, please raise your temporary identification cards. Lower them, please. Anyone against? No one. Any abstentions? No abstentions. The proposals are adopted unanimously.

Comrade delegates, allow us to move on to the first item on the congress agenda: The floor is passed to Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th congress, and the party's next tasks in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy. [thunderous applause]

Brezhnev Report

LD231300 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0720 GMT 23 Feb 81

["Text" of "Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress and the Immediate Tasks of the CPSU in the Field of Domestic and Foreign Policy" presented in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses in Moscow; opening 6-minute and final 7-minute segments read by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Leonid Brezhnev, middle segment read by unidentified announcer--live]

[Text] [Brezhnev] Comrade delegates! Esteemed guests! The regular 26th CPSU Congress has commenced its work. As always, the congress will have to review results and to determine tasks for the future.

In assessing the path that has been followed one can say firmly that the 25th congress correctly determined the fundamental trends and directions of social development. [applause] The Leninist general line of our party is being confidently implemented. The tasks put forward at the previous congress are being successfully fulfilled on the whole. The national wealth of the country has significantly increased as a result of the 10th 5-Year Plan. Its productive and scientific-technical potential has grown. The defense capability of the Soviet state has been strengthened. The level of well-being and culture of our people has risen.

The family of Soviet peoples has become even more cohesive and lives in even greater harmony. [applause] A major event was the adoption of the Soviet Union's new Constitution. The unbreakable unity of party and people grew even stronger over the past 5 years. It was and remains a source of the mighty strength of our society. [applause]

In the international sphere, the period under review was a complex, tempestuous time. It was marked above all by the intensive struggle of two trends in world politics: on the one hand, the course toward curbing the arms race, strengthening peace and detente and the defense of the sovereign rights and freedom of peoples; on the other hand, the course toward undermining detente, boosting the arms race, the policy of threats and interference in other people's affairs and the suppression of the liberation struggle. They were years of further growth in the might, activity and prestige of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. The revolutionary struggle of peoples marked up fresh victories. The liquidation of colonial empires was effectively completed in the seventies. The sphere of imperialist domination in the world has narrowed. The internal contradictions in the countries of capital and the rivalry between them has sharpened. The aggressiveness of the policy of imperialism, above all American, sharply increased. In circumstances in which, toward the start of the eighties, clouds gathered on the international horizon the Soviet Union persistently continued the struggle to eliminate the military threat, for the preservation and deepening of detente, and in practice developed mutually advantageous cooperation with the majority of the countries of the world. If one asks any Soviet man, communist or nonparty member, what it is marked by, above all this path, what the path of our party is marked by in recent years, above all, [as heard] then in reply you will hear: This path is marked above all by the fact that it has managed to preserve peace. [applause] People of different ages and professions say from the bottom of their hearts, thank you, party for this. [applause]

It is quite clear today that the Soviet Union and its allies are now more than ever before the main bulwark [opora] on earth, the bulwark of peace on earth. All these years the party and its Central... [as heard--Brezhnev voice breaks off at this point]

[Unidentified announcer] Further, in the report-back of the CPSU Central Committee, in the section on the international policy of the CPSU, it states: Our struggle to strengthen peace and deepen the relaxation of international tension is, above all, a struggle to ensure for the Soviet people the necessary external conditions for the resolution of the constructive tasks that lie before them. By this we are also resolving a problem whose nature really affects the whole world, for at present there is no question which is more vital and more important to any people than the preservation of peace, ensuring the primary right of each man--the right to life.

The Development of the World Socialist System and the Cooperation of the Countries of Socialism

Comrades, all these years, the party and its Central Committee and Politburo have been giving unremitting attention to strengthening friendship and cooperation with the countries of socialism. Together with them we are building a new socialist world, a type of relations between states which is unprecedented in history, relations which are just, equal and fraternal.

It is in such a spirit that our relations with the countries of the socialist community--with Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia--are developing. A principled unity of views has been established among us on all big problems of socioeconomic development and international policy. This is the result of the constant cooperation of the fraternal communist parties and is our common achievement. It is very important that profound mutual understanding, trust and agreement exist between the leadership of our parties. In these years there have been 37 friendly meetings at the highest level in the Crimea; without the formalities of protocol and in a comradely atmosphere, we have discussed prospects for development of our relations and key problems of world politics, and have set forth the tasks for the future. Each meeting has brought something new and useful. I would like to express heartfelt gratitude to the leaders of fraternal countries and parties for this kind of cooperation.

The exchange of party-government delegations has been a regular one. Conferences of secretaries of central committees on issues of international relations and ideological and party organizational work have become normal practice. The party organizations of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community are connected by numerous threads. They are connected at all levels, from republics, krays and oblasts to rayons and large enterprises. Cooperation between state organs, public organizations and production collectives has acquired a lively and fruitful character. Contact in the spiritual sphere, close ties in the field of ideological and culture, have become the firm norm.

Since olden times relationships between states have been called international [mezhdunarodnyy] but it is only in our times, in the world of socialism that they have really become relations between peoples [mezhdu narodami]. All the principle gains of socialism and its great service to mankind have [word indistinct] directly in them.

The field of our cooperation embraces more and more new spheres. An example of this is the Intercosmos program. The cosmonauts of the fraternal countries are working not only for science and for the national economy; they are also carrying out a political mission of immense importance.

Allow me, from this rostrum, Comrade Brezhnev said, to greet warmly the heroes of space, the courageous sons of the countries of socialism. The constitutions of the majority of fraternal countries stress the idea of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. This shows great faith in our country and we respond in the same way. The new Constitution of the USSR declared friendship, cooperation and mutual aid with the countries of socialism to be the keystone of Soviet foreign policy.

The past period has shown convincingly the influential and fruitful role played in European affairs, and in international affairs as a whole, by the activity of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and primarily by its Political Consultative Committee. Having earlier laid the road to the European conference, the supreme political organ of our treaty, at its meetings in Bucharest, Moscow and Warsaw put forward a number of new initiatives which attracted much attention in the world. Their main aim is to defend detente, to give it an energetic rhythm, a second wind, as they say.

In these years a new organ of our cooperation was set up--the Foreign Ministers Committee. One can already say that it has totally justified itself. The operational nature of coordination of foreign policy actions has increased.

The construction of the Joint Armed Forces has been conducted in a harmonious manner. And here, as always, good work has been done by the Defense Ministers Committee.

The Central Committee reports to the congress: The military-political defense alliance of the countries of socialism is loyally serving peace. It has at its disposal everything necessary to reliably defend the socialist gains of the peoples, and we will do everything to ensure that this will continue to be so in the future.

Comrades! We are far from painting the picture of the contemporary socialist world in entirely festive colors. Difficulties do occur in the development of our countries. The transition to intensive development of the economy, the realization of major social programs and the formation of a communist awareness do not all come about immediately. It requires both time and untiring creative efforts; and, of course, it is essential to learn from each other. During the years of socialist construction the fraternal countries have accumulated diverse, positive experiences in the organization of production, management and the resolution of national economic problems. We know, for example, how skillfully the work of agricultural cooperatives and enterprises in Hungary has been organized and how valuable is the experience of rationlizing production and saving energy, raw and other materials in the GDR. There is much interesting and valuable experience in the social security system in Czechoslovakia. Bulgaria and a number of other European socialist countries have found useful forms of agroindustrial cooperation. Let us comrades, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev said, study more attentively and make wider use of the experiences of the fraternal countries.

It is well known that the decisive front in the competition with capitalism lies in the sphere of the economy and economic policy. At the last congress we, like the other fraternal parties, put forward the further intensification of socialist integration on the basis of long-term, specific programs as a priority task. These programs are called upon to help resolve the most acute and vitally important problems of the national economy. These programs are now being embodied in concrete deeds. Integration is gathering pace, specialization in production has yielded noticeable gains in virtually all branches of the economy, science and technology. About 120 multilateral and more than 1,000 bilateral agreements of this nature have already been concluded. Coordination of the 1981-85 national economic plans of the CEMA countries is nearing completion.

When we talk of our joint labor successes, we are justifiably proud to name such major projects as the Soyuz gas pipeline, almost 3,000 km long, the Mir power grid system which has been supplemented with new electric power transmission lines, the Ust-Ilimsk cellulose combine, the Erdenek mining and metallurgical combine in Mongolia, nickel works in Cuba and numerous other new construction projects. Ahead of us we have even grander deeds to perform for the good of our whole community. What has been done by the socialist countries in economic development, in raising the people's standard of living is a whole epoch.

The recent years have not been the best for the national economies of a number of socialist states. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the rate of CEMA members' economic growth over the past 10 years was double that of the developed capitalist countries. CEMA members have remained the most dynamically developing group of countries of the world. The CPSU and other fraternal parties intend to turn the two forthcoming 5-year plans into a period of an intensive production and scientific-technological cooperation among countries of socialism. Life itself sets the task of supplementing the coordination of plans with reaching agreements on economic policy as a whole. The agenda of the day also includes questions such as a rapprochement between the structures of economic mechanisms, further development of direct ties between ministries, associations and enterprises taking part in cooperation and the creation of joint firms.

Other forms of merging our efforts and resources are also possible.

As you can see, comrades, we have many large problems. Maybe it would be useful for the leaders of fraternal countries to jointly examine them in the near future.

It goes without saying that the Soviet Union, like our socialist partners, would like to see ties in all respects to be mutually advantageous. The Soviet Union receives from the fraternal countries many types of machinery and equipment, transport, consumer goods, and certain types of raw materials. For its part, the USSR sends to the socialist market oil, gas, minerals, cotton, timber, and, of course, various industrial products.

Over the past 5-year period we have received from the CEMA countries goods worth R90 billion, and our exports have exceeded R98 billion. One cannot now imagine the confident development of this or that socialist country, its successful solution of such problems, let's say, as providing energy resources and raw materials and introducing the latest achievements of science and technology without communications with other fraternal countries.

We are tackling the problems which arise from our cooperation jointly and seeking ways to combine more correctly the interests of each of the fraternal countries with common interests. This concerns, for example fixing reduced prices for oil, gas and other raw-material industrial goods which the CEMA member-countries supply to each other.

There are special instances, too, when friends need urgent help. So it was with Vietnam, which, in 1979, was the victim of Beijing's barbaric aggression. The USSR and other socialist countries urgently sent them food, medicine, building materials and supplied military equipment. It was the same with Kampuchea, laid waste by the Pol Pot gang, Beijing's henchmen. This, comrades, is socialist internationalism in practice. Soviet people understand and approve such a stand.

We all have an interest in ensuring that the socialist market is capable of satisfying the growing requirements of the countries of our community. The benefit of supplementing one another's economic possibilities is of course not measured in purely commercial terms. The fulfillment of this task requires a responsible approach by economic managers and party personnel, and a profound grasp of the indissoluble community of interests of the fraternal countries.

We also favor developing trade and economic relations with the West. This, incidentally, is one of the factors in the stabilization of international relations. Here, however, one must also consider the policy of the capitalist states. They not infrequently attempt to use economic ties with us as a means of political pressure. Surely this is shown by all manner of bans and discriminatory trade restrictions with one or another socialist country. One must say, altogether, that the fulfillment of creative tasks by our countries in recent years has been accomplished under more complex circumstances. The deterioration of the world economic situation and sharp price rises played a part. The slowdown in the detente process and the arms race foisted on us by imperialism also places no small burden on us.

It is a fact that there has been a noticeable sharpening of the ideological struggle. For the West it does not consist just of the opposition of ideas, but puts into play a whole system of methods designed to undermine the socialist world, to shake it loose. The imperialists and their accomplices systematically conduct hostile campaigns against the socialist countries. They denigrate and distort all that takes place in these countries. For them, the main thing is to turn people against socialism. The events of the recent past confirm again and again that our class adversaries learn from their defeats. They act against the countries of socialism with increasing refinement and insidiousness.

When to the subversive activity of imperialism are added mistakes and miscalculations in internal policy, grounds are created for increased activity by elements hostile to socialism. That is what has happened in fraternal Poland, where the enemies of socialism, with the support of outside forces, are creating anarchy and endeavoring to turn the development of events into a counterrevolutionary channel. As was noted at the last plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, in Poland, a threat to the foundations of the socialist state has arisen. Polish comrades are now working on overcoming the crisis situation. They are striving to raise the fighting capacity of the party, strengthen ties with the working class and the working people, and draw up a concrete program for improving the condition of the Polish economy. Important political support for Poland came from the meeting in December last year of leading figures of the Warsaw Pact countries in Moscow. That meeting showed clearly that the Polish communists, the Polish working class, the working people of that country, can firmly rely on their friends and allies. We will stand up for socialist Poland, fraternal Poland, and will not leave her in the lurch. [applause]

The events in Poland convince one once again how important it is for the party, for the strengthening of its guiding role, to lend a sensitive ear to the voice of the masses, to struggle resolutely against all manifestations of bureaucratism and voluntarism, to actively develop socialist democracy, and to pursue a balanced and realistic policy in foreign economic relations. The history of world socialism knows all kinds of trials. It has had complex and critical moments. But communists have always boldly met the attacks of the adversary and won out. That is how it was and how it will be, and let no one have any doubt about our common determination to secure our interests and to defend the socialist gains of the peoples. We struggle for the just cause of the peace and security of peoples, for the interests of people of labor. On our side is the truth of Marxist-Leninist teachings. Our strength is in unity and cohesion. At the last congress it was said that the process of rapprochement of the socialist states was under way. This process continues to develop. But it does not blot out our national specificity and the historical peculiarities of the countries of socialism. In the variety of forms of their social life and the organization of their economy, one should see what is really there, a wealth of ways and methods, the affirmation of the socialist way of life.

Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation is making progress in numerous areas. The principles and accords that have been agreed upon constitute a good foundation for its further expansion. Soviet-Yugoslav friendship has deep roots and we have no doubts as to its future. The Soviet Union is in solidarity with the struggle of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for a peaceful, democratic unification of the motherland free from outside interference, and strives to deepen and enrich ties with it.

One has to assign a special place to China: The experience of the PRC's socioeconomic development over the past 20 years or so is a grave lesson that shows what the distortion of socialist principles--its essence both in domestic and foreign policies--leads to. The current leaders of China themselves call the state of affairs in their country, during the period of the so-called Cultural Revolution, the cruellest feudal-fascist dictatorship. We have nothing to add to an evaluation of this kind. Changes are now taking place in China's domestic policies. Time will yet show their true essence. Time will show to what extent the present Chinese leadership will find it possible to overcome the Maoist legacy. However, as yet, one unfortunately cannot speak of any changes for the better in Beijing's foreign policies. As before, they are directed at aggravating the international situation, coming close to imperialist policies. Naturally this will not put China back onto a healthy path of development. Imperialists will not be socialism's friends.

There is a simple calculation behind the readiness of the United States, Japan and a number of NATO countries to expand military-political ties with China, that of exploiting its hostility to the Soviet Union and to the socialist community in their own imperialist interests. That is a risky game. But as far as the Chinese people were concerned, we are profoundly convinced that their true interest would be met by a policy of peace, only a policy of peace and normal relations with other states. If Soviet-Chinese relations remain frozen, the reason for this does not lie in our position. The Soviet Union has not sought and does not seek confrontation with the PRC. We are following the course determined by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses and we would like to construct ties with it on a good-neighbourly basis. Our proposals aimed at normalizing relations with China remain in force, just as our feelings of respect and friendship for the Chinese people remain unfailing.

Comrades! As a whole, as you see, the Central Committee carried out a vast amount of work in the interests of developing and intensifying our relations with the socialist countries. World socialism is confidently advancing in the developing of the economy and culture, the perfection of social relations and socialist democracy, in literally all spheres. And we, Soviet communists, are proud of the role which the party of Lenin and the homeland of the Great October are playing in this.

The Development of Relations With the Liberated Countries

Comrades! One of the important results of the party's international activity in the period under review consists in the noticeable broadening of cooperation with countries that have freed themselves from the colonial yoke. These countries are very diversed. Some of them, after liberation, have taken the revolutionary democratic path, while in

others capitalist relations have become established. Some of them are pursuing a genuinely independent policy; others are today still following in the wake of the policy of imperialism. In a word, it is a fairly variegated picture. I will begin with the states that have a socialist orientation, Comrade Brezhnev continued, the countries that have chosen the path of socialist development. Their number has increased. The development of these countries along the progressive path does not, of course, proceed uniformly. It is taking place in complex conditions. But the main directions are similar: the gradual liquidation of the positions of the imperialist monopolies, the local grande bourgeoisie and feudal lords, the curbing of the activities of foreign capital. Commanding heights of the economy are being secured for the people's state, and a transition to planned development of productive forces is underway. The cooperative movement is being encouraged in the countryside. The role of the working masses in public life is being increased, and the state apparatus is gradually being reinforced with national cadres dedicated to the people. The foreign policy of these countries is anti-imperialist. In them, revolutionary parties reflecting the interests of the broad masses of the working people are growing stronger. In the period covered by this report the Soviet Union has concluded friendship and cooperation treaties with Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique, Afghanistan and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. A friendship and cooperation treaty was recently signed with Syria; I am sure that it will serve well the further development of Soviet-Syrian friendship and the cause of achieving a just peace in the Near East.

With the liberated states, we are developing broad economic and scientific-technical cooperation, beneficial to both sides. A large place in our relations belongs to the construction in those states of major economic projects in which the Soviet Union participates in one form or another. Among the projects completed in recent years there are several of major importance which even occupy a leading place in the economy of the countries in question.

These are, for example, the Ath-Thawrah hydropower complex in Syria, which produces more than 70 percent of the power generated in the country; the second phase of the metallurgical works in Algiers, which has increased its capacity to 2 million tons of steel; enterprises for extracting 2.5 million tons of bauxite in Guinea and so on. Our country gives assistance, as far as possible, to many liberated countries in training cadres--engineers, technical workers, qualified workers, doctors and teachers. Tens of thousands of Soviet specialists are working selflessly at building sites in the countries of Asia and Africa, in industry and agriculture, in hospitals and education establishments. They are worthy representatives of their great socialist homeland. We are proud of them and send them our cordial wishes for successes.

We also help, together with the other fraternal countries, in strengthening the defense capability of the liberated states, when they turn to us with such requests. This took place, for example, in Angola and Ethiopia. Attempts were being made to deal with the people's revolutions in these countries by means of encouraging internal counterrevolution or aggression from outside. We are against exporting revolution but we cannot agree either with the export of counterrevolution. Imperialism unleashed a real undeclared war against the Afghan revolution. This created a direct threat to the security of our southern border also. This situation forced us to render the military assistance which the friendly country asked for.

The plans of Afghanistan's enemies failed. The well-thought-out policies of the people's revolutionary party and the Government of Afghanistan, headed by Comrade Babrak Karmal, which correspond with the national interests, strengthened people's rule. As far as the Soviet military contingent is concerned, we shall be ready to withdraw it on agreement with the Afghan Government. For this, the sending of counterrevolutionary gangs into Afghanistan must be completely stopped. This must be consolidated with accords between Afghanistan and its neighbors. Reliable guarantees are needed to ensure that there is no new intervention. Such is the principled position of the Soviet Union and we adhere to it firmly.

The revolution in Iran has a special character. It was one of the major international events of recent years. With all its complications and contradictions, it is fundamentally an anti-imperialist revolution even though internal and foreign reaction is striving to change its nature. The Iranian people are seeking their own path to freedom and

prosperity. We sincerely wish them success in this and we are ready to develop good relations with Iran on the bases of equality and, of course, reciprocity.

In several countries of the East recently Islamic slogans have been actively raised. We communists respect the religious convictions of people of the Islamic faith just as of other religions. The main issue is the aims pursued by the forces declaiming particular slogans. The liberation struggle can unfold under the banner of Islam. This is shown by the experience of history, including the most recent history. But reaction also operates with Islamic slogans while raising counterrevolutionary mutinies. Consequently, the whole essence of the matter is the real content of a particular movement.

Comrades, our cooperation with India occupies a major place in the Soviet Union's relations with the liberated countries. We welcome this power's increased role in international affairs. Our links with it continue to become stronger. Soviet-Indian friendship has, in both of our countries, become a deep-rooted popular tradition. As a result of the recent talks in Delhi with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and other Indian figures, the whole complex of Soviet-Indian relations was considerably advanced.

Cooperation with peace-loving, independent India will remain one of the main directions of Soviet foreign policy. We see no obstacles to establishing good cooperation with Indonesia and with the other member-countries of ASEAN as well. In the past 5 years, 10 new states have gained independence in Africa, the Caribbean and Oceania and have been recognized immediately by the Soviet Union. The birth of the Republic of Zimbabwe, the increasing strength of the liberation struggle in Namibia, and now in the Republic of South Africa, show clearly that the rule of the old-style colonizers and racists is drawing to a close. Imperialists do not like the fact that the liberated countries are strengthening their independence. By thousands of ways and methods they are trying to bind those countries to themselves so as to be freer to dispose of their natural resources and use their territory for their strategic designs. In this, wide use is made of the old method of the colonizers: divide and rule. It is precisely from these positions that the West approaches the Iran-Iraq war, which has now been going on for 5 months--an absolutely senseless war from the point of view of the interests of those states, but very advantageous to imperialism, which has constant visions of reestablishing its positions in that region. It is to be hoped that both Iraq and Iran will draw the right conclusions from this. The Soviet Union resolutely advocates that this fratricidal war be brought to an end as soon as possible and the conflict settled by political means. We are endeavoring to promote this in practice.

Now, the Near East problem. In trying to secure a dominant position in the Near East, the United States embarked on the path of the Camp David policy, the path of splitting the Arab world and organizing a separate collusion between Israel and Egypt. American diplomacy did not succeed in turning this separate anti-Arab collusion into a wider, capitulatory agreement, but it was successful in something else. Renewed exacerbation of the situation in the region occurred, resulting in a Near East settlement being pushed back. What is to be done now? We believe that it is time to get things moving again, time to return to an honest collective search for an all-embracing settlement on a just and realistic basis. Given current circumstances this could be done, say, within the context of a specially convened international conference. The Soviet Union is prepared to take part in work of this kind in a constructive spirit and with good will. We are prepared to do this jointly with other interested countries, with the Arabs--including of course the Palestine Liberation Organization--and Israel. We are prepared for such a joint search with the United States. We had, I would remind you, certain experience in this respect several years ago. We are prepared to cooperate with the European states, with all who display a sincere desire to secure a just and stable peace in the Near East. The United Nations Organization can clearly continue to play a useful role in resolving this question. As for the substance of the matter, we continue to be convinced that to achieve genuine peace in the Near East, Israeli occupation of all the Arab territories seized in 1967 must end; the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to create their own state, must be realized; and the security and sovereignty of all the states of this region, including Israel, must be ensured. Such are the basic principles--the details can, of course, be the subject of talks.

The nonaligned movement, which this year marks its 20th anniversary, has been and remains an important factor in international relations. Its energies are directed against imperialism and colonialism, against war and aggression. We are confident that the key to the further enhancement of the role of the nonaligned movement in world politics, which we would welcome, lies in its loyalty to its basic principles. In the mid-seventies the former colonial countries raised the question of a new international economic order. The rebuilding of international economic relations on a democratic basis and on the principles of equality is historically natural. Much can and must be done here. But of course one cannot, as is sometimes done, reduce the question merely to a distinction between the rich North and the poor South. We are prepared to work toward the establishment of just international economic relations, and are in fact doing so.

No one should doubt, comrades, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev stressed, that the CPSU will continue to pursue consistently the development of cooperation between the USSR and the liberated countries and the consolidation of the alliance between world socialism and the national-liberation movement.

The CPSU and World Communist Movement

Now, about the Communist Party's line in the world communist and workers' movement. The international working class and its political vanguard, the communist and workers' parties, have approached the brink of the eighties with confidence. They have approached it as active fighters for the rights of the working people and for the peace and security of all peoples.

The communist movement continued to expand its membership and to strengthen its influence among the masses. Communist parties now operate actively in 94 countries of the world. In the last years alone, about 800,000 new fighters joined their ranks in Western Europe. Is this not evidence of the invincible, attractive force of communist ideas? Our party and its Central Committee worked actively to expand and intensify all-round cooperation with the fraternal parties. During the period under review, the members and candidate members of the Politburo and the secretaries of the Central Committee alone received several hundred party delegations. In turn, representatives of the CPSU took part in congresses and other functions of the communist parties. We regularly informed the fraternal parties about events in our internal life and about our foreign policy actions. Foreign comrades also had many opportunities to acquaint themselves with the practical activities of the CPSU in local areas, in the republics, oblast and enterprises. As our friends themselves say, all this helps them with their work.

Contacts with foreign communists also enable our party to acquire a better understanding of the situation in individual countries. As the influence of the communist parties grows, the tasks facing them become ever more complex and varied. This sometimes gives rise to differing assessments and to differences in approaches to resolving specific issues in the class struggle. It also evokes debate between the parties. In our opinion this is quite natural. Communist parties have held dissimilar opinions on this or that issue. Life has proved convincingly that, while divergences may exist, one can and must develop political cooperation in the struggle against the common class opponent. Time and practice are the supreme arbiters in solving problems that arise. Vladimir Ilich Lenin was profoundly correct when he pointed out that many disagreements could and would disappear without fail. This result would be achieved by the logic of the joint struggle against a truly formidable enemy, the bourgeoisie.

Not long ago the leadership energetically defended the right to a specific national character in regard to the ways and forms of struggling for socialism and socialist construction. However, if one approaches the matter without preconceptions then one should recognize that no one is imposing on any one any patterns or schemes which ignore the particular features of this or that country. The position of Vladimir Ilich Lenin on this question is well known. He wrote that all nations will arrive at socialism. This is inevitable, but they all will get there in not quite the same way. Each introduces a particular feature of one or another form of democracy, one or another variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, one or another rate of socialist transformation of the various aspects of public life.

Our party adheres steadfastly to this Leninist line, which has been clearly confirmed today by historical practice. Consider comrades, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev continued, that all the forms, methods and ways of socialist revolution have not been mechanical repetitions of another's experience in any one of today's socialist countries. The GDR or Poland, Hungary or Cuba, Mongolia or Yugoslavia--all socialist countries have carried out a revolution in their own way, in forms that were dictated by the correlation of the class forces inside each of these countries, by national conditions and by the external situation.

There has been both armed struggle and peaceful forms of transition to a new social system, both a rapid coming to power by the working classes and processes which have extended over time. In some countries the revolution had to defend itself from foreign intervention, in others it got by without outside intervention.

The creation and consolidation of the foundations of socialism, the construction of socialist society, as I have already said, noted Comrade Brezhnev, have also had and continue to have their peculiar features in various countries. Therefore, to talk of some kind of unification, to constrast communist parties on the basis of recognition of the paths they have chosen to reconstruct society is possible, I think, only when one ignores real facts.

Sometimes critical opinions are voiced in some communist parties with regard to some or other concrete aspects of the development of our country. We are not at all of the opinion that everything has been ideal in our country. Socialism in the USSR was built under unbelievably complicated conditions. The party was trailblazing through virgin territory and no one knows better than us what difficulties and shortages were encountered along that path and which of them still remained to be overcome.

We listen attentively to comradely and constructive criticism. However, we are resolutely against criticism which distorts socialist reality thus rendering, willy nilly, a service to imperialist propaganda, the class enemy. Our party proceeds from the fact that differences in opinions between communists can be overcome provided, of course, they are not differences in principle, between revolutionaries and reformers, between creative Marxism and dogmatic sectarianism, ultraleftist [levatskiy] adventurism. Here, naturally enough, there can be no compromises, today as during the times of Lenin.

But when communists are struggling for the common revolutionary cause, we proceed from the fact that a patient, comradely discussion of various views and positions answers their common goals best.

The consistent struggle of communists for peace, against imperialism's aggressive policy, against the arms race which brings the threat of nuclear disaster to the peoples, constitutes a grand, unifying principle, a mighty factor for the further cohesion and growth of authority of the world communist movement.

The main thing consists of this: that communists, equipped with Marxist-Leninist teachings see the essence and the future of processes taking place in the world in a deeper and more correct way than anyone else, that they draw correct conclusions from this for their struggle for the interests of the working class, the working people of their countries, for democracy, peace and socialism.

The CPSU builds its relations with the fraternal parties on this foundation. We have good relations with the vast majority of communist parties, the French, Portuguese, German, Greek, Finnish, Danish, Austrian and other communist parties of Europe. The CPSU has the same good relations with the fraternal parties of the countries of America, Asia, Africa and Australia. We will continue to strengthen these relations in the name of our common cause, the cause of peace and socialism.

A major event in the life of the international communist movement was the Berlin conference of communist and workers parties of Europe in 1976. It defined reliable signposts [orienteer] for the working class, the broad masses of the workers in the struggle against the arms race for strengthening detente and for social progress. [illegible]w stimulus to the

struggle against the danger of war was given by the Paris meeting of communist and workers parties of Europe in 1980. It promoted stepping up activity in the struggle of the popular masses of the continent against the serious danger hanging over Europe concerning the decision by the NATO bloc to deploy in Europe new American missiles with nuclear charges.

In the review period there has been a strengthening of the CPSU's cooperation with other democratic forces. In particular, our links with the socialist and social-democratic parties of Finland, Belgium, Sweden, Japan, Spain and a number of other countries have received further development, chiefly on questions of the struggle against the danger of war.

Of great importance have been the contracts with the leadership of the Socialist International, our participation in the Socialist International's conference on disarmament, the contacts with the working group created by it on this problem, the reception of its delegations by the CPSU. Contemporary social democracy has considerable political weight. It could do more to defend the vital interests of the peoples, and, primarily, to strengthen peace, improve the international situation, rebuff fascism, racism and attacks of reaction on the political rights of the working people.

In practice, however, the social democratic leaders are far from always acting in this direction. Many of them are infected with the virus of anticommunism. Some allow themselves to be drawn into the campaign against the socialist countries organized by imperialism and, citing so-called Altantic solidarity, justify the arms race. It is clear that such a policy is not in keeping with the interests of the working people. We resolutely condemn it. However, we will actively support all steps which further the cause of peace and democracy. Given the current deterioration of the international situation, cooperation with social democrats, trade unions, religious circles and all democratic, peace-loving forces on the matters of preventing war and strengthening peace appears important to us. The World Parliament of Peoples for Peace, which took place in Sofia last year, was a good example of such cooperation. Soviet communists welcome the achievements of the communist parties in expanding their ranks, in consolidating their ties with the masses, in defending the interests of the working class and of all working people, their democratic rights and freedoms, and in struggling against the omnipotence of the monopolies, against the growth of militarism and for the socialist orientation in the development of their countries.

Comrades, the communists in the capitalist countries are carrying their loyalty to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism through terror and persecution, through prisons and the barbed wire of the concentration camps, and through unstinting and often very difficult daily work for the benefit of the peoples. We express ardent solidarity with our brother communists who are languishing in the torture chambers of fascist dictatorships, who are being subjected to police repressions and who are waging a difficult struggle in the underground. We express solidarity with those who are being discriminated against and who are being deprived of their civil and political rights simply because of their convictions and because they belong to the party of the working class.

Honor and glory to the communists, courageous fighters for the cause of the people!

Relations With the Capitalist States, Opposition to the Forces of Aggression, a Policy of Peace and Cooperation

Comrades, in the period under review the Soviet Union has continued to pursue actively the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation with the capitalist states and of firm rebuff to the aggressive intrigues of the imperialists. These years have seen further aggravation of the overall crisis of capitalism. Of course, capitalism has not ceased to develop, but it is going through its third economic recession in the past 10 years. Inflation has reached an unprecedented rate. In the developed capitalist countries prices have risen an average 2.3 times since 1970, including 1.5 times since 1975. The inflationary curve is becoming still steeper. It was no accident that, upon taking office, the new U.S. President admitted that the United States is suffering one of the worst periods of inflation in its national history and that inflation threatens to shake the very foundations of life for millions of Americans.

It can be seen quite clearly how little help state control is to the capitalist economy. Adopting measures against inflation, bourgeois governments assist stagnation in production and growth of unemployment. Striving to check the crisis slump in production, they further increase inflation. Social contradictions have been aggravated noticeably. In the conditions of capitalist society, the use of the latest scientific-technical achievements in production turns against the workers and throws millions of people outside the gates of plants and factories. Over the last decade, the army of unemployed in developed capitalist countries has doubled. In 1980 it comprised 19 million people.

Attempts to reduce the tension of class struggle by means of any social reforms are equally unsuccessful. The number of participants in strikes has grown by more than a third over the last 10 years, reaching 250 million, according to official data alone.

Interimperialistic conflicts are also being aggravated. The struggle for markets and sources of raw materials and energy is intensifying. Japanese and West European monopolies are competing more and more successfully with American capital even in the domestic U.S. market. During the seventies, the U.S. share of world exports was reduced by almost 20 percent. The difficulties being experienced by capitalism are also influencing its policies, including foreign policy. The struggle around basic questions of the foreign policy orientation of capitalist countries has been aggravated. Recently, those who oppose detente, arms limitation and improving relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of socialism have increased their activities noticeable. Adventurism, willingness to gamble with the vital interests of mankind in the name of one's own narrow self-interested aims--this is what is showing through with particular monotony in the policies of the some of the most aggressive circles of imperialism. Displaying total scorn for the rights and aspirations of peoples, they are trying to depict the liberation struggle of the popular masses as a manifestation of terrorism. They have truly set themselves an unattainable goal--to place a barrier in the path of progressive changes in the world and reassume the power to decide the fates of peoples.

Military expenditure is growing at unprecedented rates. In the United States, it has reached $150 billion per year. But even such astronomical figures do not satisfy the American military-industrial complex. It demands more, the U.S. NATO allies have promised to build up military allocations automatically almost until the end of this century, giving in to Washington's demands, although some of them did so quite reluctantly.

A considerable part of these vast resources is being spent on the accelerated development of new types of strategic nuclear weapons. Their creation is accompanied by doctrines dangerous to the cause of peace, such as the notorious Carter doctrine or Carter directive. They want to make people believe the notion that nuclear war can be limited. They want to reconcile them to the idea that such a war is permissible. But this is downright deception of the peoples, since a limited war--according to American conceptions--in, say, Europe would mean, at the very beginning, the certain destruction of European civilization. And of course the United States itself could not remain untouched by the flames of war. It is clear that such plans and doctrines are a serious threat to all peoples, including the American people. These plans are meeting with condemnation everywhere in the world: The peoples say a resolute no to them.

The imperialist circles think in terms of domination and coercion in relation to other states and peoples. The monopolies want other people's oil, uranium, nonferrous metals; and the Near East, Africa and the Indian Ocean are declared to be in the sphere of vital U.S. interests. The American military machine is actively forcing its way into the area and preparing for a long stay. The island of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, Oman, Kenya, Somalia, Egypt--what will be the next move? In order to share the expenses with others, while at the same time binding their NATO partners more strongly to themselves, the United States is pressing for an expansion of the bloc's functions. The Washington strategists would clearly like to involve in their military preparations scores of other states and enmesh the world in a spider's web of U.S. bases, airfields and arms depot.

In order to justify these kinds of activities, they spread tales about the Soviet threat to the oil wealth of the Near and Middle East and to the oil transport routes; a deliberate fabrication since its authors are well aware that the Soviet Union has no intention of encroaching on either of these things. Generally it is absurd to think that it is possible to defend the West's oil interests by turning this region into a powder magazine.

No, we have altogether different views on how peace can be genuinely safeguarded in the region of the Persian Gulf and on the approaches to it. Instead of gathering more and more new sea and air armadas, troops and armaments here, we suggest that the military threat be lifted by concluding an international agreement. By joint efforts and by taking the legitimate interests of all sides into account, it is possible to create in this region an atmosphere of stability and calm; it is possible to guarantee the sovereign rights of the region's states and security of sea and other communication lines linking it to the rest of the world. This is the essence of proposals put forward by the Soviet Union recently. This initiative has received wide support throughout the world including a number of Persian Gulf states. Incidentally, opponents of the Soviet proposal have also come forth. It is not difficult to guess in whose camp they are found. We hope that the governments of the United States and other NATO countries will calmly and in an unprejudiced manner ponder this whole question so that it is possible to jointly look for a solution acceptable to all.

Moreover, the attainment of an accord on this question could mark the beginning of a very important process of reducing the military presence in various regions of the world's oceans.

Throughout all these years we have been following a principled and constructive line in relations with the United States. Unfortunately, the previous Washington administration by no means considered the development of relations, mutual understanding. Attempting to exert pressure on us, it began to destroy all the positive results which had been scored with no little difficulty in Soviet-American relations over the preceding years. As a result, our bilateral relations in a number of areas were set back. The SALT II treaty has been frozen. The United States has unilaterally broken off talks with us on certain arms limitation issues, such as cutting arms supplies to third countries.

Unfortunately, even after the change of leadership in the White House, candidly bellicose calls and statements are being heard from Washington, calls and statements which seem to be specially intended to poison the atmosphere of relations between our countries. In any case, we would like to hope that those who now determine U.S. policy will ultimately be able to look at things more realistically.

The military-strategic equilibrium prevailing between the Soviet Union and the United States, between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO, is objectively serving the maintenance of world peace. We have not been striving for and are not now striving for military superiority over the other side. That is not our policy. But neither will we permit such a superiority to be established over us. Such attempts, as well as trying to talk to us from a position of strength, are absolutely futile. Not trying to disrupt the equilibrium which exists and not imposing a new and even more expensive twist in the arms race--these would be evidence of genuine wisdom. Truly, the time has long since come to eliminate from serious policy the ragged scarecrow of the Soviet threat.

Let us look at the real state of affairs, Comrade Brezhnev continued. Whether the question is one of strategic nuclear arms or of medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe, there is an approximate equality between the sides. The West has a certain advantage in some kinds of weapons, we have the advantage in others. The equality could be even more enduring if we were to conclude pertinent treaties and agreements. They also talk about tanks. The Soviet Union really does not have more of them. However, the NATO countries have a large number; anyway, they have considerably more antitank weapons.

In addition, the story of Soviet superiority in overall troop strength does not correspond to reality. If one looks at the United States together with the other NATO countries, their overall troops strength is slightly higher than that of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. What question can there be of any Soviet military superiority? A military threat has indeed loomed over the United States as well as over all the other countries of the world. But its source is not the Soviet Union, not its mythical superiority, but rather the arms race itself, the tension which persists in the world. Joining hands with America, the American states and all the countries of our planet, we are preapred to struggle against this genuine, not imaginary, threat, to attempt to defeat each other in the arms race and to count on victory in a nuclear war are dangerous madness.

It is generally recognized that the international situation depends to a large degree on the policies of the Soviet Union and the United States. In our opinion, the present state of relations between us and the sharpness of international problems demanding solution dictate the need for dialogue at all levels and, what is more, an active dialogue. We are ready for dialogue. Experience shows that the decisive link here is meetings at the highest level. This was true yesterday and remains true today. The Soviet Union wants normal relations with the United States. From the point of view of the interests of the peoples of both our countries, and of mankind as a whole, we just do not have any other reasonable path.

Comrades, the past 5-year period has been years of purposeful struggle by the party and Soviet state for peace and security in Europe. On the European Continent, despite the efforts of the enemies of detente, peaceful cooperation among the countries of the two systems is generally developing quite well.

Political contacts have become broader and fuller. On a number of major foreign policy problems we frequently manage to find a common language. Economic, scientific-technical and cultural links are growing and acquiring new dimensions. Multilateral conferences on various questions of European cooperation have been held. An extensive system of ties has developed between ourselves and France. A practically continuous political dialogue is maintained at various levels, primarily with President Giscard d'Estaing. Soviet-French trade volume has tripled. Cooperation in the sphere of science, technology and culture embraces over 300 themes and trends. And although we do not agree with all of France's actions in the international arena, our relations remain a major factor of detente and we favor their further dynamic development.

Our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany have on the whole developed favorably on the basis of the 1970 treaty and the subsequent agreements. The meetings with Chancellor Schmidt in 1978 and 1980 just as the earlier meetings with Brandt have made a useful contribution to the cause of detente on the European Continent and broadened the horizons of the mutually-advantageous Soviet-West German links. In the past 5 years our trade with the FRG has almost doubled. Major projects such as the delivery of equipment for Atommash, the Oskol electro-metallurgical combine, chemical industry enterprises and pipes and equipment for gas pipelines occupy a significant place in our economic relations.

But there are spheres, and not unimportant ones, where the positions of the USSR and the FRG differ considerably. It is sufficient to mention the attempts by Bonn at times to circumvent the quadrilateral agreement on West Berlin, and to disregard the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic on a number of questions. We favor the strict and total observance of the understandings reached in the 1970's. This is important for mutual understanding and cooperation between our two countries and for the cause of peace in Europe.

Certain progress has also been made in our relations with Italy. Political contacts take place; economic cooperation is expanding as well as mutual familiarity with the cultural heritage of our peoples.

Soviet-Finnish relations are developing on the firm foundation of friendship and good neighborliness. We note the true value of the contributions made by Finland and by President Kekkonen personally, to the cause of strengthening European security.

We are also satisfied with the fact that our economic links are developing satisfactorily and the joint construction of large industrial projects is proceeding successfully.

We are ready to develop further good relations with our neighbor Turkey. We have traditional links with Greece. We welcome the successful development of relations with Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Cyprus and a number of other European countries. After a 40-year break, relations with Spain have returned to a normal course. As far as Soviet-British relations are concerned, here, unfortunately, there is stagnation--and not through any fault of ours. This, I think, does not correspond to the interests of either the Soviet Union or of Britain. In speaking about European affairs, one should also not fail to mention the fact that new serious dangers have threatened the peace in Europe.

This concerns, above all, the NATO decision to deploy new American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. This decision is not an answer to an imaginary Soviet challenge, nor a run-of-the-mill modernization of the arsenal as they claim in the West. We have before us an obvious intention to change the existing military balance in Europe to NATO's advantage.

It should be clear that the deployment of new American missiles aimed at the Soviet Union and its allies on the territory of the FRG, Italy, Britain, the Netherlands or Belgium can only affect our relations with these countries, not to mention the damage which will be done to their own security. Thus the governments and parliaments of these countries have grounds for considering this whole matter again and again.

The vital interests of the European peoples demand that Europe follow a different path --that which was laid in Helsinki. We believe that the process started by the all-European conference should be uninterrupted. Any form of talks--multilateral, bilateral --should be used to solve the problems troubling Europe.

On relations with Japan: Negative aspects are becoming stronger in its foreign policy course--playing up to the dangerous plans of Washington and Beijing and a tendency toward militarization. However, we do not consider that this is, as one might say, Tokyo's last word. We hope that farsightedness and understanding of their own interests will gain the upper hand. The Soviet Union continues to be in favor of firm and really good-neighborly relations with Japan.

The role of the states of Latin America in the world arena has considerably increased, including the role of countries such as Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela and Peru. We note with satisfaction the broadening of mutually useful links between the USSR and Latin American countries and we are ready to develop these links even further.

There is also considerable potential for the development of relations with Canada and the door for further broadening of cooperation with it, just as with the other capitalist states, will remain open--for the very broadest cooperation with governments, parliaments, business circles, cultural figures, and public organizations. In this way, comrades, the policy of peaceful coexistence outlined by Vladimir Ilich Lenin is having an increasingly determinative influence on contemporary international relations. The 1970's showed this with great convincingness.

Life demands fruitful cooperation among all states in order to resolve the peaceful and constructive tasks facing each people and the whole of mankind. And this cooperation is not utopia without foundation. Its shoots, though still modest, do exist. And now in our days they must be seen, valued and developed. Useful cooperation is now developing, including within the framework of international organizations, between a considerable number of states in fields such as the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy, combating of epidemic diseases, liquidation of illiteracy, protection of historical and cultural monuments, and weather forecasting services. Our country is taking an active part in all this. In a word, there already exists a proven basis for a further development of the field of practical, peaceful cooperation among states. The necessity for this is more and more obvious. Suffice it to mention problems such as, for instance, the discovery and utilization of new energy sources, food supplies to the planet's growing population, preservation--in all its abundance--of our earth's nature, and exploration of the heights of space and the depths of the world's oceans.

To Strengthen Peace, Deepen Detente and Curb the Arms Race

Comrades, the struggle for lessening the threat of war and curbing the arms race has been and remains the pivotal direction of the foreign policy activities of the party and state. At the present time this task has acquired a special significance and urgency. The point is that rapid and profound changes are taking place in the development of military technology. Qualitatively new types of weapons, primarily weapons of mass destruction, are being developed--types that can make control over them, and therefore also a coordinated limitation of them, an exceptionally difficult, if not impossible matter.

A new stage of the arms race would disrupt international stability and greatly intensify the danger of war. The position is made worse by the fact that the policy of the aggressive imperialistic forces has already led to a considerable increase in international tension with all the dangerous consequences that stem from that.

There is probably no state which has in recent years put before mankind such a broad spectrum of specific and realistic initiatives on some of the most important problems of international relations as the Soviet Union has, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev noted. Let me start with the problem of limiting nuclear arms--the most dangerous problem for mankind. For all these years the Soviet Union has been struggling decisively to put an end to such an arms race and to stop the further deployment of arms on the planet. As you know, great work was done in preparing the treaty with the United States on the limitation of strategic arms. Much was done during talks with the United States and Great Britain on completely banning nuclear weapons testing. We made an important move in stating and confirming that we will not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries which do not allow nuclear weapons to be deployed on their territory. But we also proposed more: to stop producing nuclear weapons and to start reducing stocks until they are completely eliminated.

The Soviet Union actively worked for the banning of all other types of weapons of mass destruction. A certain amount was achieved in this direction during the period under review. The convention banning the affecting of the environment for military purposes came into effect. The basic provisions of a treaty banning radiological weapons have been provisionally accepted. Talks on the elimination of chemical weapons from arsenals continue, albeit intolerably slowly. Through the actions of the peace-loving forces it was possible to halt the implementation of plans for the deployment of the neutron weapon in Western Europe. Thus, all the greater is the peoples' indignation at the attempts once again being made by the Pentagon to suspend the Damoclean sword of this weapon over the countries of Europe. We reaffirm that we will not begin its production if it does not appear in other states, and that we are prepared to conclude an agreement banning this weapon once and for all.

The Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization have made a number of concrete proposals for military detente in Europe. In particular, we would like the participants in the all-European conference to pledge themselves not to be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other, and not to expand existing military blocs or to create new ones in Europe or in other continents. The Soviet Union and its allies have proposed the convocation of an all-European conference to discuss the resolution of issues regarding military detente and disarmament in Europe. This matter is the focus of attention at the current meeting in Madrid.

We also did not reduce our efforts to achieve progress at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. In this report, the socialist countries have gone more than halfway to meet their Western partners. But it must be said plainly that if the Western countries continue to drag out these talks further, while simultaneously building up their military potential in Europe, then we shall have to take this fact into consideration.

Many important initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union and its allies over the past 5 years have been approved by decisions of the United Nations and of the UN General Assembly special session on disarmament. The Soviet proposals on strengthening international security and limiting the arms race still stand, Soviet diplomats and all staff on the foreign policy front are continuing to work actively to see them implemented under the guidance of the party Central Committee. Our activities are in harmony with the aspirations of other countries and peoples. Suffice it to recall that many states on various continents have submitted proposals, which have received broad support, to declare Africa and the Near East, as well as Latin America, nuclear-free zones and to create zones of peace in Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. Moreover, the decisions of the European conference are in effect aimed at making all of Europe such a zone.

Comrades, we are continuing the struggle for a radical improvement in the international atmosphere. The peace program proclaimed by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses has been and remains a reliable compass here. The state of affairs in the world today demands

new and extra efforts in order to eliminate the threat of war and strengthen international security.

Permit me, said Comrade Brezhnev, to report to the congress a number of moves aimed at this goal.

In recent years, as you know, hotbeds of military conflict have arisen, quite often threatening to grow into a great conflagration, first in one then in another part of the world. As experience has shown, to extinguish them is no easy task. It would be better to apply preventive measures to prevent such hotbeds from occurring.

In Europe, for example, this objective is served to some extent--and generally quite well--by measures to strengthen trust in the military sphere, carried out on the decision of the all-European conference. These are: prior warning about the military exercises of ground troops and invitations to observers of other countries to attend them. These measures are now being implemented on the territories of European states, including the western regions of the USSR. We have already said that we are ready to go further, to give notification of naval and air force exercises. We have proposed and are again proposing that notification of major troop movements also be given.

Now we would like to propose that the area of application of such measures also be substantially extended. We are prepared to extend them to the entire European part of the USSR, on the condition that the Western states make a corresponding extension of the area of measures of trust.

There is a region where devising and applying measures of trust, taking into account, of course, the region's specific character, could not only defuse the situation locally but also become a very useful factor in strengthening the foundations of universal peace. This is the Far East, where such powers as the Soviet Union, China and Japan are neighbors.

There are also American military bases there. The Soviet Union would be ready to hold specific talks with all interested countries on measures of trust in the Far East. In submitting these far-reaching proposals on measures of trust we proceed from the fact that their implementation will also cause further progress in the cause of disarmament.

Furthermore, concerning our proposals on the Persian Gulf, sometimes it is said that they cannot be separated from the question of the presence of a Soviet military contingent in Afghanistan. What can be said about this? The Soviet Union is ready to try to reach agreement [dogovarivataya] on the Persian Gulf as an independent problem. It is also ready, of course, to participate in a separate settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, which I have already stated earlier, said Leonid Ilich Brezhnev. But we do not object to the questions connected with Afghanistan being discussed in conjunction with the questions of security in the Persian Gulf. Naturally here only the international aspects of the Afghan problem can be discussed, not internal Afghan affairs. The sovereignty of Afghanistan must be fully protected, as must its nonaligned status.

We once more issue an urgent appeal for restraint in the sphere of strategic armaments. The peoples of the world must not be allowed to live under the threat of a nuclear war being unleashed. The limitation of strategic arms and their reduction is an extraordinary problem. On our part, we are ready to continue without delay appropriate talks with the United States of America while preserving everything positive that has been achieved up to now in this sphere.

Negotiations can, of course, only be conducted on a basis of equality and identical security. We will not enter into an agreement giving one-sided advantage to the United States. There should not be any illusions on this score. In our opinion all the other nuclear powers should also join in such negotiations in due time. The Soviet Union is ready to hold talks on the limitation of any kind of armaments. At one time we proposed a ban on the creation of the U.S. Trident submarine missile system and our own corresponding system. This proposal was not accepted. As a result the Americans have created the new Ohio class submarine with Trident-1 missiles. We have created the analogous Typhoon system. But who has gained from this?

We are ready to reach agreement on limiting the deployment of new U.S. submarines of the Ohio class and similar ones in the USSR. We could also enter into accord on banning the modernization of existing ballistic missiles and the creation of new ones for deployment aboard these submarines.

Now to the subject of nuclear missiles armaments in Europe. An ever more dangerous accumulation of these is taking place. A kind of vicious circle has formed. The action of one side evokes countermeasures by the other. How can this chain be broken? We propose that agreement be reached on establishing a moratorium now on the deployment in Europe of new medium-range nuclear missile facilities of the NATO countries and the USSR--in other words, to freeze both quantitatively and qualitatively the existing level of such facilities, including, of course, the forward-based nuclear facilities of the United States in this region. This moratorium could come into force immediately as soon as negotiations on this question commence, and would be effective until a permanent treaty on limitation or, even better, on reduction of such nuclear facilities in Europe is concluded.

In this we proceed from the position that both sides should curtail any kind of preparations for the development of corresponding additional means, including the U.S. Pershing-2 missiles and ground-based strategic cruise missiles. The peoples should know the truth about the consequences, ruinous for mankind, which nuclear war would bring. We propose the creation of an authoritative international committee which would demonstrate the vital necessity of averting nuclear catastrophe; the committee might include the most prominent scientists from various countries; and the whole world could be informed of the conclusions made by them.

There are, of course, also many other topical international problems in the modern world. The sensible resolution of them would make it possible to lower the heat of the international situation, and would make it possible for peoples to take a calmer breath. But for this, a far-sighted approach, political will and boldness, authority and influence are required. That is why we think that it would be useful to convene a special session of the Security Council, with the participation of the top leaders of members states of the Council, in order to seek the key to improving the international atmosphere and to preventing war. Leaders of other states, if they wished, obviously, could also take part in the session. Naturally, thorough preparation for such a session would be required in order to ensure positive results.

Thus, comrades, the new measures which we are proposing embrace a broad circle of issues, they concern both nuclear missile weapons and conventional types, land forces, naval forces and air forces; they concern the situation in Europe, the Near, Middle and Far East. They incorporate measures of both a political and a military nature. All these proposals are unified by one single aim, our one common aspiration, to do everything possible to lead people out from under the threat of nuclear war and to preserve peace on earth.

This, if you like, noted Comrade Brezhnev, is an organic continuation of the development of our program of international life in our day. To defend peace--there is today no more important task in the international context for our party, our people and for all the peoples of the planet. By defending peace we work not only for the people alive today, not just for our children and grandchildren, we work for the happiness of dozens of future generations. If there is peace the creative energy of peoples, drawing on the achievements of science and technology, will certainly solve the problems which trouble people today. Of course, our descendants will then come up against new and even higher tasks. Well, that is the dialectic of progress, the dialectic of life. Not preparation for war, condemning peoples to a senseless waste of their material and spiritual wealth, but the consolidation of peace--that is the guiding thread to tomorrow.

The Economic Policy of the CPSU in the Period of Developed Socialism

Comrades! Let us go on to issues of the CPSU's economic policy. Leadership of the national economy is the heart of all the activities of the party and state, for it is in the field of the economy that the foundations of the resolution of social tasks, of strengthening the country's defense capability and of an energetic foreign policy are laid.

It is here that necessary prerequisites are created for successful movement of Soviet society toward communism.

The basic results of economic development of the USSR in the seventies and the 10th 5-Year Plan:

Entering the seventies, the party made an all-round analysis of the state of the national economy and determined the main paths for resolution of socioeconomic problems of developed socialism. The invariable policy requirement "all in the name of man, all for the good of man" served and still serves as the point of origin of the party's political approach to the economy.

Hence the line of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses toward a more profound reorientation in the national economy to multifaceted tasks connected with enhancing the well-being of the people. Hence also the congresses' insturction on decisively moving to the primary, intensive factors of economic growth, and the instruction on raising the efficiency and quality of all work. Such is the orientation of the CPSU's economic policy for the long term.

In its creative development, in the mobilization of communists and all the working people to bring this policy to life, the plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee devoted to economic construction played an important role. These plenary meetings made a realistic analysis of the state of the national economy, concentrated the attention of the party on unsolved problems and promoted the formation of modern economic thinking. Each of them was in essence a school of socialist management and taught our cadres and entire party the science and art of managing the economy.

The report cites the basic indices of the economic and social development of the USSR in the seventies. The results of the development of the national economy convincingly confirm the correctness of the party's economic strategy. The country has made considerable progress in all aspects of creating the material and technical basis of communism. A qualitatively new level was achieved by the productive forces of Soviet society. The scientific-technical revolution is developing deeply and extensively, changing the appearance of many forms of production and of whole industries. Soviet science occupies leading positions in very important spheres of knowledge. The country's economic might reliably guarantees further progress along the path of communist construction.

Soviet people have worked well and done shock work. Closely united around the Leninist party, taking its plans as their personal vital concern, the workers of town and country spared no effort to increase the economic potential of the homeland. Honor and glory to the Soviet man, the man of labor! He is the chief and valuable wealth of our society.

Over the past decade a stubborn struggle has been waged to raise the efficiency of the national economy. The most concentrated index here is labor productivity. In this period it has increased by almost 50 percent. On the basis of the achievements of science such modern industries as atomic machine building; space technology; electronic, microelectronic and microbiological industry; labor technology; production of artificial diamonds and also other new synthetic materials have received further development or have been created.

A characteristic of the seventies has been the major changes in the deployment of productive capacities.

In accordance with the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, the process of forming territorial production complexes is underway in the RSFSR's European part, in the Urals, in Siberia, in the Far East, in Kazakhstan and Tadzhikistan. Over the years of the 10th 5-Year Plan, these complexes yielded the total all-union increase in oil, gas and coal. In northwest Siberia in 1970, extraction of oil, gas condensate included, amounted to 31 million tons. In 1980 extraction exceeded 312 million tons. Gas extraction over this period increased from 9.5 million to 156 billion cubic meters. Orenburg gas men extract in excess of 48 billion cubic metres of gas now. Miners of the Pavlodor-Ekibastuz complex extracted approximately 67 million tons of coal in 1980--almost three times the 1970 figure. The Sayany, Bratsko-Ust-Ilim, South-Yakut, Karatau-Dzhambul, Mangyshlaksk,

South Tadzhik territorial production complexes play a growing role in the economy of the country's Asian part. The Baykal-Amur main railroad line opens up great possibilities for moving further eastward and northwards. Industrial development of new regions is important both in social and political areas. Production collectives that come into being there bring with them a high culture of toil and life, a new, modern rhythm of life. Yet another bright chapter is being added to the annals of heroic accomplishments of the Soviet people.

All this is the result of the farsighted policies of the party. All this is the result of the courage and enthusiasm of workers, engineers and technical workers and sciertists, who, working in difficult and at times unbelievably difficult conditions, put some of the richest natural resources to the service of the national economy. What was done by them is a true feat--a feat for the people and on behalf of the people.

The seventies were a period of steady growth for heavy industry. Output of means of production rose on the same scale as over the previous 20 years. Generation of electricity rose at twice the rate of that in the sixties. The unified power grid of Siberia was linked to the single power grid of the country. New-type hydraulic power units were commissioned at the Sayan-Shushenskoye, Ust-Ilim, Nurek, Inguril, Dnepr, Nizhnekamsk and other hydroelectric stations. Building was completed on some of the largest thermal power stations--the Zaporozhye and Uglegorsk. The nuclear power industry is growing at rapid rates. New power sets have been put into operation at the Leningrad, Chernobyl, Kursk, Beloyarsk, Armenia and Bilibino AES'. The nuclear power industry receives powerful modern equipment. Atommash--the main supplier of nuclear steam-producing installations--started output.

The country's metallurgical industry continued to be strengthened. Over the past decade, the national economy received 460 million tons of steel more than in the previous one. A broad program for the development of the engineering industry was implemented. Its output in 1980 had grown by 2.7 times in comparison with 1970.

Output of instruments increased 3.3 times and output of computer hardward and software increased tenfold. Noticeable quantitative and qualitative advances took place in the chemical and petrochemical industry. During 1971-80 the output of these industries more than doubled. Particularly big successes were achieved in the production of mineral fertilizer. The entire spectrum of chemical manufacturing is also developing. The very large Neytron and Polineft associations, the Tomsk chemical works, the Prikumsk, Omsk and Shevchenko plastics works, and a number of other new enterprises form the nucleus of the modern chemical industry.

The technical basis of agricultural production has been substantially strengthened during the last two quinquennia. The provision of chemicals, the comprehensive mechanization and industrialization of land husbandry and livestock production have been intensified. Land improvement work is being conducted on a broad scale. Capital investment in the agrarian sector of the economy has been increased in order to carry out these difficult tasks. During the 10 years it amounted to over R300 billion. This is 2.3 times the amount for the previous decade. The intensification of agriculture made it possible to steadily increase the volume of output even though the number of workers went down. During the past decade it grew by 30 percent per ha compared with the previous decade. Another result of intensification has been greater stability in agriculture. In spite of the fact that 3 of the last 5 years were unfavorable, the average annual grain harvest reached 205 million tons. The cotton harvest amounted to almost 10 million tons in 1980. The agricultural produce obtained during the 9th and 10th 5-Year Plans, as a whole, was worth R272 billion more than during the two previous 5-year plans. All this means, comrades, that the multifaceted, purposeful work of the party and all workers in agriculture and the industries connected with it--work aimed at boosting agriculture--is producing tangible results.

The growth of the economic might of the Soviet state has permitted, in the seventies, the fulfillment of a broad program of raising the people's well-being. Thirty-two billion rubles were allotted for implementing state measures to raise earnings, pensions allowances and so on; and each such measure is a real and weighty improvement in the main direction for us--to make better the life of the Soviet people. The minimal earnings,

rates and salaries for average-paid industrial, office and professional workers have been raised in all branches of the national economy. Average monthly earnings exceeded R168 in 1980 and increased almost 1.4 times compared to 1970. The payment for the work of the collective farmers grew at even higher rates.

Payments and benefits from the social consumption funds increased almost twofold. The minimum pensions for industrial, office and professional workers, and for collective farmers were raised in the 9th and 10th 5-year periods. The material and everyday living conditions were improved for those who took part in the Great Patriotic War. Allowances were introduced for children from families not well provided for. Grants have been increased for students at institutes of higher education, and for those studying at secondary specialized educational establishments and technical colleges. Pupils in the first five classes have begun to receive textbooks free of charge.

The production of consumer goods has the most direct relation to living standards. In the seventies this almost doubled compared to the previous decade. Nonetheless, here, as with providing the population with foodstuffs, there are problems and deficiencies about which I shall talk in greater detail later, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev continued.

In the seventies the area of housing constructed exceeded the whole urban housing stock at the beginning of the sixties. The scale of housing construction, comrades, is our great social achievement. Thus, the main target of the party's economic strategy is being consistently implemented. Despite the complexity of the questions at issue here, the course mapped by the party is being unswervingly put into effect. All in all, the seventies can be assessed as a major step in the development of the country's economy and that of all the union and autonomous republics. The successes of the past decade are, to a large extent, determined by the results of the 10th 5-Year Plan. Further, the report lists the main indices of the economic and social development of the USSR in the 10th 5-Year Plan compared with the 9th. The sociopolitical significance of those results is seen by the CPSU Central Committee in the fact that, on the basis of steady improvement in the economy, there has been a continuing improvement of the whole system of social relations and of our socialist way of life. Behind what has been achieved is the selfless toil of tens of millions of people, the active work of the party organizations, the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions and Komsomol, and the scope of socialist competition. And today, as we look back on the years that have passed, we can say with full justification: Gigantic work has been done; our great homeland has become stronger, richer and more beautiful.

While giving due acknowledgement to the truly historic achievements of the Soviet people, the CPSU Central Committee also clearly sees difficulties, shortcomings and unsolved problems. Not all targets have been achieved. Not all ministries and enterprises have fulfilled their plans. There are still bottlenecks and disproportions in the national economy. The causes are various: Among them are the operation of objective circumstances outside our control; insufficient work in planning and management; insufficient exactingness of a number of party organs and economic managers; infringements of discipline and instances of bad management. But possibly the main cause is that we have not yet fully overcome the force of the inertia, tradition and habit established at a time when it was the quantitative, rather than the qualitative aspect that was to the fore.

All this has been thoroughly discussed at plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. Specific decisions aimed at improving lagging industries and links have been adopted. And now it is a matter, leaning on accumulated experience, of eliminating even more decisively the obstacles hindering the growth of the economy. There is only one way for this--raising exactingness, learning to work and manage more efficiently. This is not an easy thing to learn, but we communists are persistent and purposeful people. We have set off along this path and we shall not turn from it.

Topical Problems of the National Economy of the Eighties and of the 11th 5-Year Plan

Comrades! The tasks for the 11th 5-Year Plan and the eighties are set forth in detail in the CPSU Central Committee's draft "The Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-85 and in the Period Through 1980." More than 121 million people took part in its discussion. The draft has received full approval and

support from the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the intelligentsia. A large number of useful proposals, additions and refinements have been introduced, which will, without doubt, enrich the contents of the document. From the rostrum of the congress, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev said, permit me to express gratitude to all comrades, communists and nonparty people who have participated in the discussion of the "Basic Guidelines."

The proprietary interest shown by millions of the working people in the party's socio-economic plans and their concern for state affairs are an expression of the true democratism of the Soviet system. This is an important guarantee of the successful implementation of our plans.

Special Features of the Eighties and the Main Task of the 11th 5-Year Plan

The country has entered a new decade, possessing a mighty economic and scientific-technical potential and a multimillion army of trained cadres, devoted to the cause [delo]. This determines our possibilities. At the same time demands, too, are growing and the scale of investments, which are necessary both for the normal work of the national economy and for satisfying the growing demands of the Soviet people, are increasing. These production and personal requirements will have to be satisfied in conditions which are not easy.

In the eighties, as you know, a number of factors which will complicate economic development will operate. One of these is a reduction in the growth of labor resources. Another is an increase in expenditure in connection with developing the east and north, as well as an inevitable growth in expenditure on environmental protection. One must add to that the fact that there exist quite a few old enterprises which require fundamental rebuilding. And roads, transportation and communications also lag behind the growing needs of the economy. Consequently, serious efforts and large funds are required here as well.

The draft of the "Basic Guidelines" embodies the continuity of the party's economic strategy. It also takes into account the specific conditions in which the country will develop. It is precisely from this standpoint that the targets of economic growth and the basic ways of achieving them are determined. The main task of the 11th 5-Year Plan, the draft says, consists in providing for a further growth in the well-being of the Soviet people on the basis of a stable and progressive development of the national economy, and acceleration of scientific-technical progress and the transition of the economy to an intensive path of development, a more rational use of the country's production potential, the utmost economy of all types of resources and an improvement in the quality of work.

In accordance with the calculations at hand, the national income used for consumption and accumulation is to be increased by 1990 by a minimum of 1.4 times; capital investment will increase by approximately the same. It is planned to increase the national income in the 11th 5-Year Plan by 18-20 percent, output of industry by 26-28 percent, and output of agriculture by 12-14 percent. The total volume of capital investment over the 5 years is planned to be of the order of R711 billion to R730 billion.

Development of heavy industry is a necessary prerequisite for the resolution of all tasks of the national economy, both production and social ones. This especially concerns its base industries, primarily fuel and power. I shall not give the figures, Comrade Brezhnev continued, they are known to you. I should merely like to stress that the task of improving the structure of the fuel and power balance is becoming more and more pressing. The share of oil as a fuel must be reduced, and it must be replaced with gas and coal. Nuclear power must be developed faster, including fast-breeder reactors. Of course, life demands a continuation of the search for fundamentally new sources of energy, including the creation of the foundations of thermonuclear power engineering.

I think it necessary to single out the rapid development of the extraction of Siberian gas as a task of primary economic and political importance. The biggest of them, Urengoy, is set apart by such gigantic reserves that both the country's domestic needs and exports, including exports to the capitalist countries, can be ensured for many years. We are

faced with making the extraction of Western Siberia's gas and oil and their transportation to the European part of the country into very important sections of the energy program of the 11th and also the 12th 5-Year Plans. Such is the directive [ustanovka] of the Party Central Committee, and I hope, said Leonid Ilich, it will be supported by the congress. We expect that interested socialist countries will take part in implementation of this program, just as the development of nuclear power engineering.

This would be of vital importance for our whole community. Looking to the long term, there should also be a thorough study of the question of production of synthetic liquid fuel on the basis of the coal of the Kansk-Achinsk basis.

Major appropriations are being allocated for the development of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy during the new 5-year plan. We will, of course, bring new metallurgical capacities into operation. But there also exists another way of overcoming the shortage of metal: more skillful and complete utilization of that which is being produced. A 5-percent reduction in losses and waste in metal processing would alone be equivalent to a 10-percent increase in production of finished rolled ferrous metal. Reduction of waste in metallurgy itself and also in the loss of metal through corrosion is also a substantial reserve. And what a saving there would be countrywide from reducing the weight of machine tools and equipment, raising the quality of metal and metal articles or, say, from expanding the production of metal substitutes. There is opportunity for work here for our scientists, designers and rationalizers. Of course, investment, effort and a certain amount of time will also be required for all this, but on a far smaller scale than for endless expansion of metal production.

The new 5-year plan will be a serious test for builders. A characteristic feature of it will be the utmost concentration of forces on the earliest completion and commissioning of those enterprises which are capable of ensuring the greatest increase in production and easing bottlenecks. We have already embarked on this course, and it must be unswervingly followed.

I must dwell specially on the work of transportation. In view of the seriousness and scale of the problems which have accumulated in transportation, we came to the conclusion that they can only be resolved on the basis of a long-term, comprehensive program. The drafting of such a program was envisaged in the "Basic Guidelines."

The railroads account for more than half of all freight turnover. Appropriations for their development in the 5-year plan, which has begun, are being increased by more than 30 percent. This already allows for the modernization of the rolling stock and the improvement of the rail network. It is important to concentrate on the development of station [statsionnyy] tracks. This is an economic and rapid means for increasing the throughput capacities of the railroads.

The program must provide for an increase in the coordination of all types of transportation. Rail, motor vehicular, air, sea, river and pipeline. The shifting of power-generation and the raw material base over to the east requires an acceleration in the development of roads, pipelines, and airports in Siberia and the Far East. As with many other problems, the transportation problem should not be resolved in an isolated manner. Reducing transportation costs is a great, all-state task. The way to resolve it is the rational deployment of production forces, the drafting of optimum timetables for freight flow and the ruling out of cross-hauls.

And there should, of course, be a substantial improvement in the carriage of passengers; violations in timetables should be reduced to a minimum; terminals and airports should be made more comfortable; the general standard of service should be raised.

The CPSU Central Committee calls on all workers in power-engineering, metallurgy, and other branches of heavy industry, construction and transportation workers to mark the new 5-year plan with shock-work of initiative, work for the good of the homeland.

Comrades, each industry is faced with its pressing tasks and specific problems. But there are problems that cover the whole sphere of the national economy, and the main one is the completion of the transition to a primarily intensive path of development. The intensification of the economy, the raising of its efficiency--if one is to recast this formulation in the language of practical deeds--consists above all in the results of production growing faster than the expenditure on it; while investing comparatively fewer resources in production it should be possible to obtain more from it.

Planning scientific-technical and structural policy should be subjected to the solution of this task. Both policy in the field of management and the methods of running the economy must work for efficiency. Permit me to express confidence that the formulation of the question in this way will be approved in full by our party congress.

The delegates of the congress will have to hear and discuss the report of Comrade Tikhonov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, on "The Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-85 and for the Period Though 1990". On my part, Comrade Brezhnev said, I would like to express certain considerations of principle which are significant for our economic policy in both the next 5-year period and during the present decade as a whole.

To Use Production Potential to a Fuller Extent and More Effectively

Enormous resources indeed are involved in the national economy. It has been repeatedly noted that the Soviet Union has taken first place in the world with regard to the production of many important products, including oil, steel, cement, mineral fertilizers, wheat, cotton, mainline electric and diesel locomotives. We have the largest machine tool pool in the world. We have surpassed other countries in the number of engineers. And we can, comrades, take pride in all this.

But alongside pride there should always be the presence of a feeling of high responsibility, a responsiblity that the enormous potential created by the Soviet people should be used in a businesslike fashion and with full return. As compared with the world's best indices per unit of national income we spend more on raw materials and energy. Therefore, there is a possibility to increase substantially the output of finished products with the resources already available. I have already mentioned what a more rational and economic use of metal can yield, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev continued. And this applies fully to virtually all types of resources, be they ores, timber of building material.

Take oil, for example: Enormous reserves of it can be found by raising its extraction coefficient [izvlekayemost] from under the ground. Much can be obtained from improving engines and switching automobile transportation over to diesel and gas fuel.

The mining branches as a whole should, apparently, be approached in a new way as well. Already today a lion's share of capital investments is allocated to them. And yet the demand for raw materials and energy sources [energonisitel] will continue to rise. Consequently, successes of the entire national economy will depend to a great extent on the rise of the mining industry's effectiveness.

The path toward this lies through the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, complex and profound processing of minerals and a wider use of secondary resources.

The urgency of these tasks is connected with the fact that what is meant here are riches which cannot be replenished. For their correct and thrifty use we are responsible not only before the present but also before future generations. And no one has the right to forget this.

The improvement in the use of production capacities opens great opportunities--that is, of machines, equipment, means of transportation, reduced demurrage, a higher replacement coefficient [smennost], the creation of technological schemes which save energy and materials--this is where our efforts will have to be concentrated.

In the conditions of the eighties the thrifty and economical attitude to labor resources will acquire special importance. This is a complicated matter which requires the solution of numerous tasks of an economic, technical, social and educational character. Training our sights on the economy and on a fuller and rational use of what is at the country's disposal requires a new attitude to many questions of economic management. In part this means that it is necessary to improve and strengthen the higher levels of the corresponding industries, the so-called fourth process stage [peredel] of metallurgy, the finishing work in construction and the concluding stages in light industry. To a great extent they determine the quality and at times also the quantity of products.

It was stressed at several CPSU Central Committee plenums that our further advance will increasingly depend on the skilful and effective use of all available resources: labor, basic assets, fuel, raw material and farming and animal produce.

Comrades, the fulfillment of the greatest and most complex tasks is now within our ability. But something which would seem to be simple and very everyday is becoming the pivot of economic policy--a thrifty attitude to public property, the ability fully and expediently to use everything we have. The initiative of labor collectives and mass party work should be directed toward this. Technical policy, and the policy of capital investments and the system of plan accountability indices must also be directed towards this. The party Central Committee calls on the congress delegates to confirm this conclusion as one of the most important principles of the CPSU's economic strategy for the coming period. The economy must be economical--such is the call of the times.

All the Branches of the National Economy Are To Be Brought Up to the Forward Limits of Science and Technology

The circumstances in which the national economy is to develop in the eighties make the acceleration of scientific-technical progress even more pressing. No one needs convincing of the great significance of science. The Communist Party proceeds from the premise that the construction of a new society is simply unthinkable without science. The CPSU Central Committee advocates the continued raising of the role and responsibility of the USSR Academy of Science and improvement of the organization of the whole system of scientific research. This system must be considerably more flexible and mobile, intolerant of fruitless laboratories and institutes. There must also be a more attentive attitude to the needs of science, and a more attentive provision of scientific establishments with equipment and instruments and expansion of experimental plants. The country greatly needs the efforts of the major sciences, together with the elaboration of theoretical problems, to be concentrated to a greater degree on the resolution of key national economic questions, on discoveries capable of making genuinely revolutionary changes in production. The accurate formulation of the practical tasks which demand maximum attention from scientists is above all the job of the central planning and economic bodies, the State Committee for Science and Technology. At the same time, science itself must constantly disturb the peace, showing which sectors have been stagnating and lagging behind; and where the modern level of knowledge enables one to move forward faster and more successfully. One must think over how this work can be turned into an integral part of the management mechanism. The promotion of scientific discoveries and inventions is the decisive and most critical field today.

Research and development work should be linked more closely economically and organizationally with production. We have fine examples of this--Zil in Moscow, Lomo and Elektrosila in Leningrad, the Paton Institute in Kiev and many others. However, one frequently comes across impermissible sluggishness in the adoption of promising developments. Whether it is a question of continuous casting of steel or powder metallurgy, on-off DC power transmission lines or making high-strength artificial fibers, the reasons why we at times lose our lead, [prioritet] and spend a great deal of money buying from abroad the kind of equipment and technology which we are quite capable of producing ourselves, and often with higher quality, must be examined. Personal demand on leaders of departments, enterprises and institutes for production of new kinds of output and introduction of new progressive technology must be increased. Everything which makes the process of introducing new products difficult, slow and painful must be eliminated.

Production must be vitally interested in adopting more quickly and in a better way the fruits of thought and the fruits of labor of scientists and designers. The resolution of this task is, of course, not a simple matter, and demands a break with outmoded habits and indices. But it is absolutely necessary for the country, for the people and for our future.

Another point is the level of requirements applied to the quality of output. I think it should be the very highest--in accordance with the best world and Soviet models, no less. We cannot and should not agree to anything less. One must accustom oneself to this, and work to achieve it, resolutely discarding everything that is outmoded, backward and of little practical value.

Yet another issue: While resolving the tasks which we have set ourselves, we can no longer be reconciled to the lagging behind of the scientific and designing base of a number of industries--the light, food and medical industries, agricultural and some other kinds of machine building.

It would be certainly worthwhile for the Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology and ministries to carry out work in assessing the scientific and design base of various industries and introduce proposals for a certain regrouping of scientific forces. Here we have every right to count also on help from industries having particularly strong scientific base, including defense.

In short, comrades, close integration between science and production is an urgent requirement of the present day. The CPSU Central Committee is convinced that workers in science and technology, engineers, designers and heads of industries and production plants will do everything possible to be equal to this requirement. The basis of scientific and technical progress is the development of science. And it is primarily the machine-building industry which can open wide its doors for the new. Everything progressive created by scientific and engineering thinking must be immediately mastered by the machine-building industry, embodying it in highly effective, reliable machinery and instruments and technological lines. Truly revolutionary possibilities are opened up by the production and introduction of miniature electronic control machinery and industrial robots. They should receive the broadest application.

Today, in looking forward to the next 5 to 10 years, we cannot forget that it is precisely during these years that the foundations will be laid for the national economic structure with which the country will embark upon the 21st century. It must embody the main features and ideals of the new society, stand in the vanguard of progress and personify the integration of science and production--the indestructible union of creative thought and creative labor.

Comrades, the party is putting forward an extensive program for a further increase in the people's well-being during the 11th 5-Year Plan and the eighties as whole.

This program embraces improvements in all aspects of life of the Soviet people: consumption, housing, culture, leisure, conditions of work and life. The proportion of the consumption funds to the national income is planned to be raised to 77.3 percent in 1985. Let me recall, stated Comrade Brezhnev, that in 1980 this figure was 75.3 percent. Social consumption funds will grow considerably. It is envisaged that more than R16 billion will be spent during the 5-year plan on centralized measures to raise wages and other payments and benefits to the population. The minimal pensions conditional on age or infirmity, paid to industrial, office and professional workers and to members of kolkhozes will be raised. Other measures will also be implemented to improve further the social security services for the population. State aid to families with children will be increased. It is envisaged that such an important measure as raising the minimum working wage to R80 a month and wages and salaries for industrial, office and professional workers will be undertaken. In the period between 1981 and 1985 the average monthly wage will increase by 13 to 16 percent and will reach R190-195.

Collective farmers' income from the public sector of the economy will increase by 20-22 percent. It is envisaged that a number of wage benefits will be extended, as well as length-of-service bonuses in the eastern rayons in particular, and regional coefficients. It goes without saying that the raising of the working people's standard of living is not confined to increase in monetary income. The CPSU Central Committee considers that the task now being brought to the forefront is that of improving the supply to the population of food and also of industrial consumer goods. Over the last 5-year plans, food production has increased; at the same time, the CPSU Central Committee and Politburo, knowing well the situation in each republic and each oblast, sees that difficulties in supplying food to the population are still occurring. In this connection measures have been taken, and are being taken, both by using domestic resources and through foreign trade. In order to achieve a radical solution of the problem, it has been deemed necessary to develop a special food program, which will ensure a considerable increase in output of agricultural produce and link agriculture more closely with the industries concerned with storing and processing its products, and, of course, with retail trade. In other words, its aim is, in the shortest possible time to solve the task of providing a regular supply of food to the population. Work on the program has only just begun--all the more reason to direct attention to the questions at issue here. The foundation of the food program is the further improvement of agriculture. The main directions of the work before us in the sphere of agriculture were mapped out in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee plenum held in July, 1979. They remain in force. The first task is to boost production of those types of agricultural produce the shortage of which is causing the most perceptible interuptions in supply. I refer, Comrade Brezhnev said, above all to meat and other animal products. In the 11th 5-Year Plan production of meat is to be increased by more than 3 million tons and will reach 18.2 million tons annually in 1985.

The CPSU Central Committee addresses the party organizations of republics, krays and oblasts, rayon party organizations and all toilers of the countryside: Land husbandry today is a front of shock labor. The maximum persistence must be displayed, comrades, the maximum initiative and flexibility, and all reserves and possibilities must be used in order not only to fulfill but substantially overfulfill the set plans.

The main difficulty is shortage of fodder. The draft of the "Basic Guidelines" provides for an increase in the 11th 5-Year Plan of the the average annual production of grain to 238-243 million tons. Bearing in mind that the demand for grain used in foodstuffs is fully satisfied, serious emphasis must be laid on cultivating grain crops for forage. Their portion of the gross grain crop must be considerably increased. It is advisable, in particular, to extend the sowing area of corn for grain crops, as well as soya, in Moldavia, the southern oblasts of the Ukraine, in Northern Caucasus, Central Asia and Transcaucasia.

Many regions of the country have good conditions for cultivating peas, barley and oats. Generally speaking, the time has come to actively set about providing a systematic transition, taking into account natural economic conditions, to a more rational structure of the grain-crop growing area. Science and specialists must have a decisive say in this matter. Together with grain it is necessary, of course, to increase the production of coarse and succulent fodder and protein additives; at the same time the breeding and productivity of livestock should be improved and industrial poultry-farming should be developed.

Comrades, if we speak of agriculture as a whole, then it faces the same main problem as other branches of the national economy: raising effectiveness and quality. We will continue to allocate large financial and material resources to the countryside and continue the systematic transition of these branches to an industrial basis.

However the balance is now being transferred--and this is a distinguishing feature of the agrarian policy of the eighties--to returns from capital investments, growth of productivity of agriculture, to a deepening and improving of its links with all industries of the agro-industrial complex. The point is that efficiency of land use, especially the use of improved lands, machines, fertilizers, fodder should be raised decisively, that yields of all crops should be increased. This demands even greater attention to the raising of qualifications of cadres, to scientific recommendations, to studying and making use of world and home experience.

We are also talking about a further growth in the supply of equipment for agriculture, the raising of productivity, of service life and reliability of machines and equipment delivered to the countryside, improvement in the quality of chemical protection agents for plants and of fertilizers, and improvement in rural construction.

Finally, it is difficult to envisage an efficient agroindustrial complex and modern countryside without a developed road network, reliable transportation, elevators, warehouses and storehouses, refrigeration plants and packing facilities. Disorder or lagging behind in any of these links will inevitably be reflected in quantity and quality of the final output.

Already today the volume of output produced by agriculture makes it possible to improve noticeably the supplies of numerous types of foodstuffs to the population. For instance, in the last 5-year plan the average annual per capita consumption of vegetables and fruit increased at a considerably slower rate than their production. The main reason for this is losses. Consequently, while continuing to increase the production of vegetables and fruit, it is necessary to improve their transportation, storage and processing. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes and the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Farming have a direct task to deal with this. Party and administrative organs in republics, krays and oblasts and the corresponding central department should render all-round support to the new ministry. The agenda includes expansion of the range and increase in the output of most nutritious products and improvement in their quality. This makes it necessary to develop the capacities of the processing industry, to equip it with modern, highly productive equipment. I believe that the 5-year plan should call for a more marked growth in investment in the above-mentioned industries. I am confident that this will meet with complete approval from the party and the people.

And, of course, a necessary ingredient of efficiency is the further improvement of the economic conditions of work at kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The success of all plans, all programs, depends on the attitude to the job, on the conscientious work of agricultural workers and that means also on the system of moral and material incentives.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted a detailed decision on this matter. In it, the practice of unfounded interference in the economic activity of kolkhozes and sovkhozes by certain party and administrative officials is condemned.

The decision quite explicitly says that a unified plan for purchasing agricultural products must be established for 5 years, with a breakdown into yearly intervals for republics, krays and oblasts, rayons, kolkhozes and sovkhozes. At the same time a system of incentives for farms which increases the sale of products to the state in comparison with the average annual level in the last 5-year period is being introduced. This should result in a greater correlation between material incentives and end results, and, in particular, an improvement in qualitative indices.

It is very important that the measures enumerated should be implemented consistently. The basis of socialist agriculture has been and remains the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. But this certainly does not mean that one can disregard the potential of private subsidiary farms. Experience shows that farms like these can be of substantial help in the production of meat, milk and certain other products. Gardens, kitchen-gardens, poultry and stock belonging to the working people are all part of our common wealth. The CPSU Central Committee found it necessary to adopt a decision on additional measures for the development of private subsidiary farms. It envisages the establishment of conditions--both material and moral--which would raise the interest of citizens in subsidiary farming, and above all, in raising stock and poultry. One must help kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers with the young animals and fodders. This concerns both those who keep stock privately and those who are prepared to feed stock belonging to kolkozes and sovkhozes. A number of republics and oblasts have experience in doing this, and it is worth extending it.

Subsidiary plots at industrial enterprises must also enjoy the utmost support. On behalf of the congress permit me, said Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, to express the profound conviction that in the production and processing of agricultural produce the toilers of the village and industrial workers will augment their efforts and achieve further high targets.

The expansion of production and improvement in the quality of consumer goods and the development of the services sector assume importance of the first order in the party's efforts to boost wellbeing. We have achieved successes, considerable successes, in this field. However, at the party congress, it is important to concentrate attention on something else. After all, it is a fact that plans for the manufacture of many consumer goods, especially fabrics, knitwear, leather footwear, furniture, and television sets are not fulfilled year in and year out. There have not been the necessary advances either in quality, finish and range. Order must be imposed in all these matters without delay. It is essential to make arrangements to provide light industry with modern equipment, to improve the supply of raw and other materials to it and to improve planning and management in the industry. It is necessary to improve the conditions of work and life of light industry workers. The role of trade in determining the range and quality of wares must be raised. It is also necessary to considerably raise the technical equipping of enterprises providing municipal and consumer services, to distribute them more evenly around the country and to train qualified cadres for them.

A large role is assigned to heavy industries in the program for the development of production of consumer goods and services envisaged by the "Basic Guidelines." They produce more than a half of consumer goods, excluding foodstuffs. The structure of management in the chemical industry was changed not so long ago. This is directly related to the question about which I am speaking, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev continued. We expect substantial improvements from the new Ministry of Chemical Industry in the output of synthetic fabrics and fibers, plastics, dyes, and other materials necessary to increase the quantity and, chiefly, to improve the quality of the consumer goods.

And, finally, initiative on site is of immense importance. In no other sphere of the national economy do local possibilities and local reserves play such a role as in meeting the daily consumer demand, in serving the population. Soviets of people's deputies should, at all levels, adopt specific measures to improve the production and sales of industrial goods and to develop the sphere of services.

As you know, comrades, the draft of the "Basic Guidelines" for the next 5-year plan provides for a certain acceleration in the rate of development of Group B. It will somewhat what exceed the rate of growth of Group A. This is good; the job is to create a truly modern production of consumer goods and services for the population which meets the needs of the people.

Concluding this theme, I would like to go beyond the confines of purely economic problems and take the question somewhat further. What we are discussing--food products, consumer goods, the spheres of services--are questions of the daily life of millions upon millions; the shops, canteens, laundries, dry-cleaners--people go there every day. What can they buy? How are they received? How are they spoken to? How much time do they spend on all kinds of household chores? The people, to a great extent, judge our work by how these questions are tackled. They judge strictly and exactingly, and this must be remembered. Specific concern about a specific human being, his needs and requirements, is the beginning and the end point of party economic policy. I am reminding you of this, Comrade Brezhnev said, in order to stress once again a simple and very important idea: that the production of goods for the population and the development of the service sphere is one of the party's first priorities and must be treated as such.

Improving Methods of Economic Management

Comrades! The solution of the problems that face us, and the use of the opportunities at our disposal, depend largely on the level of economic leadership, the level of planning and management. I am sure every manager and every party worker is well aware of that. In modern conditions, there is a multiple increase in the importance of discipline, the importance of personal responsibility--especially the responsibility of economic, administrative and party leaders. The interests of the state as a whole must always stand above the interests of particular ministries and enterprises. Rights--and they are large rights--are given to managers so that they may use them to the full. But, at the same time, every manager must also constantly remember his high responsbility--responsibility toward the people he has been entrusted with leading, and toward the party and the people--and the first thing I want to speak of, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev continued, is responsibility for fulfilling state plans. The party has always regarded the plan as law because only its observance ensures the smooth operation of the national economy. Let us speak frankly. This self-evident truth has begun to be forgotten. The practice of downward adjustment of plans has become widespread. This practice disorganizes the economy, demoralizes cadres and teaches them to be irresponsible. I am least of all inclined toward adopting a formalist approach, Leonid Ilich said. It may be that cases do occur when it is necessary to modify plans. But these must be, precisely, cases--very unusual circumstances. When exceptions are met with more and more often, there is understandable alarm. Are we too often following the lead of those who want an easy life, marching among the frontrankers, receiving prizes but not, in fact, fulfilling the plans?

Evidently the time has come to increase the severity of exactingness both toward plan discipline and the quality of plans themselves. The plan should unquestionably be realistic, balanced, but equally unquestionable it must be fulfilled. Another vital task is that of surmounting the lack of coordination of the action of different departments. At the 25th CPSU Congress, the necessity was discussed for creating systems of management for groups of similar and interrelated industries. To this end, integrated interindustry subunits have been set up at the USSR Gosplan. A USSR Council of Ministers commission was set up recently to deal with aspects of the development of the Western Siberian oil and gas complex, as well as an interdepartmental territorial commission attached to the USSR Gosplan and located in Tyumen.

These are steps in the right direction. They help territorial-production complexes to be better managed and regional and industry interests to be better taken into account and combined. This work must be continued. I would like to talk especially about management on the level of associations and enterprises. As you know, various versions, various schemes have been tested. Much varied experience has been accumulated. And it is precisely this experience that tells us that the search must be continued. Its general direction, it seems to us, is the expansion of the independence of associations and enterprises and of the rights and responsibility of managers of the economy. Naturally, the appropriate economic atmosphere and organizational and management relations must be created simultaneously. That is precisely what is envisaged in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on the further improvement of the economic mechanism and of the planning system, adopted in 1979. They must be consistently implemented, and at the same time one must continue to advance and solve the problems which have built up. Altogether, one must note that the improvement of organizational structures of management cannot tolerate sluggishness.

One must not adapt the live, developing organism of management of the economy to the obsolete accustomed forms. On the contrary: The forms must be made to correspond to the changing economic tasks, and this is the only way that the issue can be formulated. The tasks that are put forward by life require that the theory of economic science be developed and that it be brought closer to the needs of economic practice. What is needed is the mobilization of the creative potential of the whole of our society. At the center and in the localities, in all links and all cells of the national economy there must be a growing understanding of the problems arising; improved efforts must be made to discover and put to use the possibilities that exist. This means developing a style of work organically combining assiduousness and discipline with bold initiative and enterprise; practicality and efficiency with an aspiration towards great targets; a critical attitude to shortcomings with an unshakable conviction of the historic advantages of the path we have chosen.

Comrades! The questions of managing the economy are not purely economic ones; they are also of a political and party nature. It has long been well known that party slogans and programs are a living part of the work of the masses. The more profound the reform that we wish to carry out, Vladimir Ilich Lenin said, the higher we must raise interest in it and have a conscientious attitude, and the more we must convince millions and tens of millions of the need for it.

The economic policy that the party is putting forward for the 11th 5-year period and the 1980's reflects the basic, vital interests of the Soviet people. By unifying and merging the creativity, initiatives and energy of the masses, it ensures that our society moves steadfastly along the path of improving the well-being of the working people and creating the material and technical base of communism. [Here follows a 23-minute break during which music is played]

We continue the reading of the accountability report. The third section of Comrade Brezhnev's report, the sociopolitical and spiritual development of Soviet society and the party's tasks, says:

Comrades, in conditions of mature socialism the link becomes increasingly close between economic progress and sociopolitical and spiritual progress of society. Proceeding from this, the CPSU Central Committee has given constant attention to questions of the development of the social class and national structure of Soviet society, to improving the socialist way of life, to our state organization and democracy.

The Development of the Social Class Structure and National Relations

In the seventies the drawing together of all the classes and social groups of Soviet society continued. This is an objective but by no means spontaneous process. An important place is played in it by the social policy of the party and the state. Our aim is to create a society in which there will be no division of people into classes.

And we can say quite definitely that we are slowly but surely making progress toward this great aim. What grounds are there for such a conclusion? The role of the working class in the life of society is increasing and its numbers are growing. There are now in the country approximately 80 million workers, two-thirds of the employed population. This means that the working class has become not only the most numerous class here but also the majority of the people who work. An increasing number of workers are becoming members of party, trade union and Komsomol committees, higher and local organs of state power. This is quite right, comrades, and we welcome it.

The strengthening of the leading role of the working class is undoubtedly connected with the increase in its ideological and political maturity, level of education and professional qualifications. Ten years ago only slightly more than half of the workers had incomplete or complete secondary education and higher education; now three-fourths have. It is pleasing that the vocational training for the young influx into the working class is improving. In the sixties only one-third of young men and women obtained a speciality in the system of vocational technical education. But in the 10th 5-year period alone there were 12.5 million people, that is, two-thirds of workers entering production work.

The very nature of the labor of a modern worker is also changing. This work is increasingly acquiring an intellectual content. As the industrialization of agriculture progresses, profound changes are taking place in the life of the kolkhoz peasantry. Its labor is gradually growing closer to the labor of the workers. There are more and more machine operators in the village along with other workers connected with the latest machinery. It is thus not surprising that the number of collective farmers with secondary, complete or incomplete, and higher education has increased in 10 years from 39 to more than 60 percent. A great influence is exerted on the social structure of the countryside by the rapprochement of the two forms of socialist property and the development of interfarm organizations, taking part in which are both kolkhozes and state enterprises. Of not inconsiderable significance also is the change in forms of organization, the payment for the labor of collective farmers and the dissemination among them of the system of social security which has been established for industrial, office and professional workers.

All this, comrades, is leading to what Lenin described as the destruction of the difference in the social position of the worker and the peasant. Of course, we still have no small number of backward farms, no small amount of villages which need rebuilding, renewal and amenities. Without this it is impossible to achieve the creation of stable labor collectives and to utilize efficiently the production potential created in the countryside in the interests of a successful fulfillment of the foodstuffs program. In a word, much effort, time and funds will be required to improve the cultural and domestic services for life in the countryside and to overcome the substantial differences between the town and country. But it is already pleasant today to visit many kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is pleasant to enter the spacious and light rooms where urban comforts are combined with the special nature and requirements of rural life. The new nature of the labor, the modern way of life and look of such villages--these, comrades, are the good fruits of our social policy.

The numbers of our intelligentsia grew faster than any other group during the period under review. Now one in four workers in the country is linked in the main with intellectual labor. Not only in science, education and culture. But also in material production and in the whole life of society, the intelligentsia is playing an ever more significant role. In its turn, in the production activities of millions of workers and collective farmers, physical and intellectual labors are intertwined ever more closely. Many of them are rationalizers and investors, authors of articles and books, state and social activists. They are highly cultured and intelligent people in the full sense of the word.

Evaluating the experience of our society's development over the past decades it is possible, I think, said Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, to assume that the coming into being of the classless structure, of society will, in the main and on the whole, take place within the historical framework of mature socialism. It is the contemporary working class that has been and remains the leading force of this process--its, to use Marx's words, social mind and social heart. Its revolutionary ideology and morals, collectivist psychology, its interests and ideals are now becoming the property of all layers of Soviet society. The obliteration of interclass differences naturally poses new tasks for social policy. It is concentrated more and more on overcoming the differences that go beyond the framework of individual classes, on resolving problems which demand the most attentive taking into consideration of peculiar features and interests of each group of our society.

In connection with this I wish to emphasize the necessity, continued Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, of equalizing social differences in the territorial sense so to speak. In various regions of our huge country, cultural and everyday-life conditions of the people are not identical. It is precisely such differences which, not infrequently, complicate the situation concerning labor resources in a number of places. The implementation of the program for the development of Western Siberia, the BAM zone and other localities in the Asian part of the country has increased the influx of population here. All the same, to this very day, people often prefer to go from the north to the south, or from the east to west, although a rational deployment of production forces demands movement in the opposite directions.

It is sometimes thought to be enough to increase the pay scales in Siberia, the Far East and in northern regions, and people will not leave these areas. Scales are naturally necessary. However, the problem will not be solved by this alone. More often than not, a person leaves, say Siberia, not because the climate did not suit him or the pay was too low, but because it is more difficult to get housing there or to get one's child into a kindergarten, and there are few cultural centers.

That is why in the present 5-year plan we plan to carry out in these regions the construction of housing and of the whole field of sociocultural facilities; to improve the provision of consumer goods for the population at an even faster rate. Everyone will agree that the situation here must be changed, moreover in the near future. In Central Asia and a number of areas of the Caucasus there is, on the contrary, a surplus of manpower, especially in the countryside. That means that the population of these parts must be more actively involved in the development of the country's new territories. Of course, production necessary for the national economy must be developed here, and the training of qualified workers of the native nationality--above all among rural youth--must be carried out on a wider scale.

In accordance with the instructions of the 25th party congress, the Central Committee gave serious attention to the development and realization of an effective demographic policy and the problems of population, which have become more acute of late. The chief path to their solution is the intensification of concern for the family, newlyweds and, above all, women. After all, it is clear to everyone how hard it sometimes is to combine the duties of a mother with active participation in production and social life. A number of measures were adopted in the 10th 5-Year Plan to improve the conditions of work for working women, family holidays, and consumer and cultural services.

It must, however, be said plainly: There has been no appreciable change as yet. More broad and effective measures are required and, as is known, they are planned for in the Basic Guidelines.

They amount to introducing part-paid leave for child care up to 1 year, for a shorter working day for mothers of infants, for widening the network and improving the work of children's preschool establishments, schools with extended-day groups and all consumer services. It provides for an increase in children's allowances, especially in connection with the birth of a second and third child. Understandably, we cannot immediately implement everything we would like, but we will persistently search for ways of resolving all these problems. In this connection we must, of course, take into careful consideration the special features of the situation in various republics and regions.

Now about another group of the population, the pensioners. During the seventies their number increased from 40 to 49 million. The party and state are showing constant concern for the health and prosperity of the veterans of labor and war. More than R43 billion is now spent on the payment of pensions and allowance every year. Recently we have also raised the size of pensions. However, these increments did not apply to persons who retired earlier. Commencing with the current 5-year plan, this situation is to be gradually rectified. But something else must be done as well: to attract our veterans more widely into labor activity, especially in the field of services, of course, depending on their ability to do so and taking into account the demands of the national economy. Under the present conditions this is a very important task.

Comrades, the fraternal friendship of all the peoples of our multinational homeland is steadily being strengthened. Our course consists of building up the material and spiritual potential of each republic, and at the same time making maximum use of that potential for the harmonious development of the whole country. Along this course we have truly historic achievements to our credit.

From the first years of Soviet power our economic and social policy was so formulated as to raise the former outlying national regions of Russia as rapidly as possible to the level of development of its center. This task was successfully carried out. A very important role here was played by the close cooperation of all the nations of the country, and above all the disinterested assistance of the Russian people. Today, comrades, there are no backward outlying national regions. Take Kazakhstan, for instance. It is experiencing a period of a real flowering of its economy and culture. In the 10th 5-Year Plan alone, more than 250 modern industrial enterprises, large production shops and plants were commissioned here. The billion Kazakh poods of grain which, together with the corn of the RSFSR and the Ukraine, comprise the basis of the country's foodstuff stock, is becoming habitual. Everyone knows the immense socioeconomic changes in the Central Asian republics. To take just one fact, where before the October Revolution land husbandry knew only exhausting manual labor, the ratio per 100 hectares of arable land is today twice the average index for the Soviet Union as a whole. The scale of the transformations which embraced enormous areas of the RSFSR in the seventies is impressive. A weighty contribution to the country's economy is made by the working people of the Ukraine and Belorussia. The national economy of the Transcaucasian republics develops at a fast rate. Noticeable successes in raising the efficiency and quality of work have been achieved by the workers of the Baltic republics and Moldavia.

All in all, comrades, even a simple list of the decisions adopted during the period under review and the measures they provide for shows graphically how wide and varied was the range of questions dealt with by the CPSU Central Committee and the government in resolving the urgent problems of the development of all our country's republics and the consolidation of the USSR.

Here there is the new law on the autonomous okrugs in the RSFSR, the extension of irrigation systems in Central Asia, the development of reindeer-breeding in the regions of the middle north and sheep-rearing in Kirgizia, the protection of the resources of Lake Sevan, and many other serious matters.

The decision of the CPSU Central Committee on the development of the economy and culture of Abkhazia, Tuva and Buryatiya, and the regions of domicile of the peoples of the north is being consistently implemented.

I would particularly like to discuss the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR. For a number of reasons this region has proved to have more difficulties than certain other areas. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government mapped out and are implementing broad measures to develop the Non-Chernozem Region. This task is so complex and urgent that it has to be tackled through the joint efforts of all republics and in as short a time as possible. We have the experience and rich experience, too. We recall, for instance, the construction of the Turksib [Turkestan-Siberian railroad, constructed in 1929-52] and the Urals-Kuzbass, the conquest of the virgin lands and the restoration of Tashkent. We must work just as harmoniously and energetically in the Non-Chernozem Zone. The unity of the Soviet nationalities is firmer today than ever. This does not mean, of course, that all questions in the sphere of relations between nationalities have already been resolved. The dynamics of the development of such a large, multinational state as ours gives rise to quite a few problems which require the party's delicate attention. The composition of the population of the Soviet republic is multinational, and it is natural that all nationalities have the right to due representation in their party and state bodies, of course, taking strict account of the businesslike and moral-ideological qualities of each person. In recent years the number of citizens of non-indigenous ethnic groups have considerably increased in a number of republics. They have their specific requirements in the spheres of language, culture and everyday life.

The Central Committees of republican communist parties, kraykoms and obkoms should penetrate deeper into such issues and propose ways of resolving them in good time. The national feelings and national dignity of each person are respected in our country. The CPSU has fought and will always fight resolutely against such phenomena which are alien to the nature of socialism as chauvinism or nationalism, against any nationalistic kinks [vyvikh] such as, let us say, anti-Semitism or Zionism. We are against tendencies aimed at artificial erosion of national characteristics. But to the same extent, we consider impermissible their artificial exaggeration. It is the sacred duty of the party to educate the working people in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, of a proud feeling of belonging to a single, great Soviet motherland.

Life convinces us that the intensive economic and social development of each of our republics accelerates the process of their all-round rapprochement. The flourishing and mutual enrichment of national cultures is taking place, as in the formation of a culture of the united Soviet people and of a new social and international community. This process is taking place among us, just as it should under socialism, on the basis of equality, fraternal cooperation and voluntariness. The party is keeping a strict watch on observance of these Leninist principles of nationalities policy; we will never depart from them.

The Strengthening of the Material and Spiritual Bases of the Socialist Way of Life and the Forming of the New Man

Comrades, in the period of developed socialism the restructuring of all social relations on the collectivist principles which are internally inherent in the new order is being completed. This restructuring embraces both the material and the spiritual sphere and the whole tenor of our life.

Soviet society is the society of people of labor. The party and states have made and are making much effort to make the people's labor not only more productive, but also fuller, more interesting and creative.

And the elimination of manual, unskilled and heavy physical labor is meant to play a major role here. Millions of people still perform such work in the Soviet Union. This is not only an economic but also a serious social problem.

To solve it means to eliminate substantial barriers on the way to transforming labor into the primary, vital requirement of every person.

Socialism gives birth to new attitudes to labor. One of its clear manifestations has been and remains socialist competition. There is not a single plant, kolkhoz or construction site which has not been affected by its life-giving breath. The extent of this patriotic movement is great, involving today over 100 million people. It molds models of the understanding of social obligations, heroism and selflessness in labor. Many of the winners in competition, frontrankers in production, who are well known throughout the country are to be found today in this hall, said Leonid Ilich Brezhnev.

Socialist competition is the creativity of the masses. By its very nature it is founded on the lofty consciousness and initiative of the people. It is precisely this initiative which helps to uncover and bring into play reserves in production, to improve efficiency and the quality of labor.

However, in practice, it must be confessed, socialist obligations are sometimes drawn up not from below but are passed on from above by higher authorities. This deals a blow to the very spirit of labor competition. Enhanced plans and other similar initiatives along the line from below upwards must form the cornerstone of this competition for the worker, the team, the enterprise, the industry. Only then must one include such initiatives in the state plan. This corresponds both to the nature of socialist competition and the planned character of our economy.

It is understandable for all that people work better and more willingly when they feel a constant concern about improvements in the conditions of their labor and welfare.

The plant or farm is where a man spends at least one-third of his life. Everything there should be convenient and modern, from the workplaces to the various staff facilities [bytovka] and canteens. Unfortunately, we still have leaders of the economy who regard such matters as something of secondary importance--side issues. That is a fundamentally incorrect and harmful position, and the Central Committee Politburo has on more than one occasion dealt strictly with such leaders, including ministers. It is necessary to make rigorous checks to see that funds allocated for the social development of enterprises, towns and villages are used solely for the designated purpose, fully and within the time limits laid down. On-the-spot reports about the commissioning of new industrial projects do not normally indicate what has been done for those who will work there, how much housing, how many kindergartens, libraries and clinics have been built. Let us agree to consider such reports valid only if the program for construction of housing and amenities at the project envisaged by the plan is also being fulfilled. I think the congress will support such an arrangement.

Comrades, the sphere of distribution continues to be the subject of special attention by the party. The following facts, for example, testify to the aim and depth of the changes taking place in the sphere: The number of families of industrial, office and professional workers and collective farmers whose per capita income is over R100 a month almost tripled during the 1970's, while, on the other hand, the number of families whose per capita income is less than R50 a month fell by roughly the same amount.

In other words, the standard of living of all groups of working people is not just growing but also becoming more alike. This trend will gather strength; and the faster it develops, the more effectively everyone will work. Work alone--quantity and quality--can be the principal criterion for distribution under socialism. Unfortunately that is not always the case in practice. There are all kinds of wage-leveling techniques and cases of claiming wages basically for merely appearing at work, and not for real results at work. Undeserved bonuses have been paid. All this has an extremely harmful effect on both production indices and on the psychology of the people. Our system of material and moral stimuli must always and everywhere ensure a just and objective appraisal of the work contribution made by each person.

Conscientious workers must be encouraged in every way, and idlers and shoddy workers must be left no loopholes for a good life doing work of no value. Whoever wants to live better must work more and better; this, I believe, is comprehensible to all.

We do not have unemployment. The right to work is written into our Constitution and ensured in reality. However, according to numerous proposals by working people, there is also something else written into the Constitution: Evasion of socially useful labor is incompatible with the principles of socialism. This means that every opening for loafing, bribe-taking, speculation, for unearned income and any encroachment on socialist property must be firmly closed by all organizational, financial and juridical means.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted a decision "On Improvement of the Work of Trade and Public Catering Enterprises, Strengthening Their Cadres and Material Base and Introducing Strict Order Into the Rules of Trading and Distribution of Goods and Produce." At the same time specific steps for the decisive stopping of manipulation of goods in short supply, for stepping up the fight by corresponding state organs against all forms of abuse in this sphere and for strengthening workers' control were set forth. I am confident that the working people will give full approval to these measures.

One of the most remarkable features of the Soviet way of life is the growing benefits which people are receiving from social funds. In the 5-year period they have increased by approximately one third, and in 1 year alone, this year, will amount to R121.5 billion--these are immense funds; they go toward improving the living conditions of working people, maintenance of health, education, bringing up of children, social maintenance and culture. They must be spent efficiently, with the greatest advantage to people.

A very important place in our social program is occupied, as is known, by housing. It has already been noted that in the last 5-year period housing construction was carried out on a vast scale. Its volume will be maintained throughout the country in the future. At the same time we know that many families still live in municipal apartments and apartments lacking amenities, and that many young married couples have to wait years for housing. Insofar as this problem is still so difficult it means that in distributing housing, special attention, objectivity, honesty, if you like, are needed. It should be conducted everywhere with the participation and strict supervision of public organizations. Cooperative construction should also be expanded and its forms should be improved. At the same time a much stricter attitude must be taken toward those who have an irresponsible attitude toward the use and state of preservation of housing. I believe that help in putting this in order will be given by the foundations of housing legislation whose draft is being widely discussed by the public.

In the review period the instructions given by the 25th party congress concerning the development of national education have on the whole been successfully fulfilled. An important target has been reached. The changeover to universal compulsory secondary education has been completed.

The main thing today is to raise the quality of instruction, labor and moral upbringing in school, to get rid of formalism in evaluating the results of the work of teachers and pupils, really to strengthen the link between education and life, to improve the preparation of school children for socially useful work.

The decisive role here, of course, belongs to the teacher. We should not be sparing of attention to his labor, everyday life, to rising qualifications. But demands on his work are also rising. The quality of school programs and textbooks is in need of improvement. It is correctly noted that they are made too complicated. This makes instruction difficult and leads to an unjustified overburdening of the children. The Ministry of Education and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences must immediately rectify this situation.

The successes of the Soviet system of higher and secondary specialized education are well known. In the last 5 yeras alone it has given our national economy 10 million qualified specialists. Much in this system can and should also be improved. I am referring, Comrade Brezhnev continued, to the quality of teaching above all, and the strengthening of ties with production. Fuller use must be made of the scientific potential of VUZes where almost half of our doctors and candidates of sciences are concentrated. The demand for cadres of a given profession changes with development of the national economy. Thus the system of planning the training of cadres in VUZes should also react with sensitivity to these changes.

The 25th congress said that caring for the health of the Soviet people was one of the most important social tasks. The CPSU Central Committee and government adopted a comprehensive decision in 1977 on measures for the further improvement of public health service. Its implementation is yielding results. Today our polyclinics can receive half a million more citizens per shift than 5 years ago. There has been a significant development of specialized medical aid and the cardiological service and prevention of illness has become more effective. But many shortcomings still remain. There must be substantial improvement of the work of polyclinics, dispensaries and outpatients departments, where 80 percent of all patients are treated. Unfortunately in a number of places they have fallen behind the possibilities in medicine. There are not enough cadres and particularly middle and junior personnel, equipment has become outmoded and the latest medicines are in short supply, and plans for constructing hospitals and health centers are carried out badly.

We value highly the conscientious and selfless labor of our doctors, medical sisters and other health workers, and so we are the more distressed when we sometimes receive letters from working people telling of cases where individual medical workers have breached their professional duty and neglected people. The Ministry of Health, party committees, the Komsomol and trade unions are obliged to wage an uncompromizing struggle with such phenomena and achieve their complete elimination. Everything possible must be done to ensure that the Soviet man can receive timely, qualified and sensitive medical aid always and everywhere.

Health care is inseparable from the development of physical culture and sport. The Moscow Olympics have clearly demonstrated the remarkable achievements of Soviet athletes. However, we have always been interested not merely in the great sports achievements but, first and foremost, in the mass nature of physical culture and sport. Successes in this sphere are evident. However, as far as the majority of people are concerned, sport has to date remained a spectacle. This situation must be rectified. Physical culture must enter the daily life of broad strata of the population and, in particular, of children.

Comrades: That the spiritual life of Soviet society is becoming increasingly varied and rich is, no doubt, due to the merits of our people working in the sphere of culture, to our literature and our arts. It is up to literary critics and art experts to voice professional judgements; however, it would seem to me that all readers, viewers and listeners feel that a new upsurge is taking place in the Soviet arts.

In recent years--and this holds true of all republics- quite a few gifted works have appeared. This applies to literature as well as the theater, the cinema and music, painting and sculpture. Lofty revolutionary themes continue to resound in the creative work of our masters. The images of Marx, Engels, Lenin, of many fiery revolutionaries, the heroic history of our motherland inspire them to create new and interesting works in the most varied genres of the arts. The work of authors loyal to the military theme teaches us to love our motherland and steadfastness when put to the test. The successes of creative workers in presenting the bright images of our contemporaries are beyond doubt. They stir the people, evoke arguments, and force us to think about our present and future. The party welcomes the civic pathos and the intolerance toward shortcomings, inherent in the best works, as well as the active interference of art in the solution of problems by which our society lives.

Remember what Mayakovskiy wrote: I wish that in the debates Gosplan should toil and sweat; giving me a task for the year. And we are pleased that in recent years literature, the cinema and the theater have raised such serious problems which it would not do Gosplan any harm to sweat over, and not just Gosplan.

The heroes of such works are varied: construction brigade leaders and kolkhoz chairman, railroad worker and officer, airman and major scientist. But in each of them, the reader and viewer find accord with his own thoughs and experiences, sees the embodiment of the best features of the Soviet character. Soviet art can only echo the growing attention of our society to questions of morals. Human relations in production and in everyday life, the complicated inner life of the personality, its place in our unquiet world--all of this is the inexhaustible sphere of the artistic quest. It is, of course, important here to seek to ensure that the topicality of the theme should not hide things which are gray and squalid in the artistic sense, to ensure that the heroes of the works should not be encircled by petty deeds but should be alive to the concerns of their country, living a life full of intense labor and the persistent struggle for the triumph of justice and good.

On the other hand, manifestations of lack of ideological approach, lack of discernment in world outlook, departure from a clear class evaluation of individual historical events and figures are capable of causing damage to the work of even gifted people. Our critics, literary magazines, creative unions and, in the first instance, their party organizations should know how to correct those who are deflected to one side or another. And, of course, they should be able to speak out actively and in a principled way when works appear which discredit our Soviet reality. Here we must be implacable. The party has not been and cannot be indifferent to the ideological direction of our art.

And one more thing: It is not necessary to explain how important it is that everything surrounding us should bear the imprint of beauty and of good taste. The Olympic constructions and some housing areas of Moscow, the restored jewels of the past and the new architectural ensembles of Leningrad, the new buildings of Alma-Ata, Vilnius, Navoy and other towns are our pride.

City construction as a whole still requires more artistic expressiveness and variety, so that it does not happen as with the hero of the film, who having arrived by an ironic twist of fate in another city, could not distinguish any house or apartment there from his own.

The Soviet people have an enormous craving for art. Everyone knows how difficult it is at times to get to a good performance, buy an interesting book or visit an exhibition. But this respect, this love for art also entails great responsibility from the artist to his people. To experience the interests of the people, share happiness and sorrow with them, confirm the truth of life, our humane ideals, to be an active participant in the building of communism--this is the genuine popular and party nature of art.

True to Lenin's cultural policy, our party treats the artistic intelligentsia with consideration and respect, guiding it into the solution of high creative tasks. This assists the further consolidation of creative forces and the uplifting of the community's spiritual life, and there is no doubt that Soviet masters of culture will gladden us with new artistic revelations.

Comrades! Soviet man is a conscientious worker, a man of high political culture, a patriot and internationalist. He has been educated by the party, by the country's heroic history, by our entire system. He lives the full-blooded life of a creator of a new world. This does not mean, of course, that we have already resolved all matters connected with the moulding of the new man. Quite a few tasks still remain ahead of us. And success in education is guaranteed only when it is based on the firm foundation of a socio-economic policy.

We have great material and spiritual opportunities for the ever greater development of the individual and we shall continue to expand them in the future. But it is at the same time important that every person should make sensible use of them. This depends in the final analysis on what a person's interests and requirements are. That is why our party sees one of the important tasks of social policy in their active and purposeful formation. For the most part, Soviet people work honestly and put their heart in it. They make correct and sensible use of the manifold good things given them by society and preserve and multiply our national property. But there are also people among us who try to give as little as possible while grabbing as much as possible from society. It is on the basis of such a mentality that egoism and Philistinism [Meshchanstovo], hoarding and indifference to the concerns and affairs of the people appear. Drunkenness, which, speaking frankly, remains a serious problem, causes a great harm to society and the family. The efforts of all labor collectives, of all public organizations and all communists should be directed to the struggle against these ugly phenomena.

As we can see, comrades, we are faced with much work in improving the socialist way of life, in eradicating everyting that hinders the formation of the new man. This is one of the integral component parts of the party's social policy, the aim of which is the well-being and happiness of the Soviet people.

The USSR Constitution and the Further Development of the Soviet Political System

Comrades! The most essential changes in the economic, social and spiritual life of Soviet society, and the profound democracy of the state of all the people have found concentrated expression in the new USSR Constitution.

We all remember the huge uprsurge of the people's creative forces and their civic activeness, induced by the discussion of the draft basic law. The adoption of the USSR Constitution and, subsequently, of the constitutions of the union and autonomous republics became noticeably livelier. Combining legislation, administration and review, supreme soviets actively oversee the work of councils of ministers, ministries and departments. This facilitates a timely exposure and elimination of shortcomings and raises the general tone of state life.

The renewal of Soviet legislation, being carried out on the basis of the Constitution, is yielding a big positive effect. The new laws make it possible to regulate in a more refined and precise manner various aspects of social relations. The work aimed at improving the legislation will continue. Three directions here are of foremost importance: management of the national economy, implementation of constitutional rights of citizens and social organizations and completion of publication of the all-union code of laws. Comrades, we have adopted quite a number of good laws.

Now the point is, above all, to implement them with precision and unswervingly. After all, any law is only alive when it is being observed, when it is being observed by all and everywhere.

A great deal of interesting new aspects appeared in the activities of the local soviets. Without lowering attention to the questions of the local economy and services for the population, they contribute more and more to ensuring the all-round character of economic and social development.

The Soviets are more and more actively coordinating and supervising the work of the enterprises and organizations situated within their territory. This, comrades, is very important, and the CPSU Central Committees gives all possible support to this particular tendency in the work of the local soviets. We have nearly a million deputies who are communist. They must use their prestige and experience to ensure that every Soviet session and every standing becomes a real council of the people in a collective search for the most correct decisions. Interest in the common cause and in the development of production; comparing opinions; frank and principled criticism and self-criticism and the raising of the social and political activeness of every citizen: This is the essence of Soviet democracy, a democracy that works and is effective.

A necessary integral part of Soviet democracy is all-embracing people's control checking the work of administrative organs and officials. Not one violation, not one case of abuse, extravagance or indiscipline must slip past the master's eye of the people's controller. To act more energetically, to act more assertively--that is the direction in which the CPSU Central Committee is guiding them. In strengthening socialist legality and law and order great responsibility is borne by the organs of justice, the courts and the procurator's office, and the Soviet militia. The professional knowledge of the workers of those organs must be combined with civil courage, incorruptibility and fairness. Only such people can worthily carry out the serious duties laid upon them. The Soviet people has a right to demand that their work should be maximally efficient, that every crime be investigated in the proper manner, and the guilty punished according to their desserts. In this task the organs protecting law and order will be assured of the party's and--I have no doubt on this--all our public's full support.

The acuteness of the class struggle on the international arena makes high demands on the activities of the state security organs, on our Chekists' party fiber, knowledge and style of work.

The USSR Committee of State Security works efficiently, to a high professional standard, strictly adhering to the provisions of the Constitution and the norms of Soviet legislation. It is with keenness and vigilance that the Chekists watch out for the intrigues of imperialist intelligence services. They resolutely forestall the activities of those who embark on the path of antistate, hostile actions, who encroach on the rights of the Soviet people, on the interests of Soviet society. This work of theirs deserves the party's and all our people's deep gratitude.

In the period under review the party and state have not lost sight even for a single day of the question of strengthening the country's defensive might and its armed forces. We are obliged to do this by the international situation. A strong fusion of a high degree of equipment provision, soldiery skills and invincible moral spirit: Such is the combat potential of Soviet Armed Forces.

Already sons and grandsons of the heroes of the Great Fatherland War are in the ranks of the defenders of the motherland. They have not gone through the severe trials that fell to the lot of their fathers and grandfathers, but they are faithful to the heroic traditions of our army and people. And whenever the interests of the country's security and the defense of peace require it, whenever it is necessary to help victims of aggression, the Soviet soldier stands before the world as a disinterested and courageous patriot, an internationalist, ready to overcome any difficulties.

It happens that our congress has opened on Soviet Army and Navy Day. Allow me, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev said, on behalf of all the delegates, to warmly congratulate the glorious defenders of the homeland. The party Central Committee is confident that they will continue to guard reliably the peaceful constructive toil of the Soviet people.

Comrades: The USSR Constitution has considerably enhanced the role that belongs, in the development of our democracy, to the public organizations. The largest of them are the trade unions. The unions have received into their ranks millions of collective farmers and now include practically all the working people. The tasks and rights of the trade union organizations are extremely wide. They concern themselves with defending the interests of the working people and participate in solving economic, social and cultural tasks. They do much to promote socialist competition, invention and rationalization. And yet I think I shall not be wrong if I say, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev continued, that our trade unions still at times lack initiative in making use of their extensive rights. They are not always persistent in matters of fulfillment of collective agreements and industrial safety measures. They still react inadequately to cases of infringement of labor legislation and to instances of bureaucratism and red tape. And this means that we must further intensify trade union supervision of labor collectives in solving all questions related to the labor, life and circumstances of the people. We must widen their participation in the planning and management of production, the selection and deployment of cadres and the more efficient use of the resources of enterprises and organizations.

The party regards the trade unions as its reliable bulwark among the masses and a powerful means of developing democracy and involving the working people in the building of communism. Lenin taught that contact with the masses, that is, with the vast majority of the working people, and later with all the working people, is the most important and most basic condition for the success of any trade union activity. He demanded of trade union officials that they should be in the very midst of working life, know it inside out, be able to determine infallibly and without a shadow of false idealization the mood of the masses and the degree of their awareness and real requirements, and know how to win the unbounded trust of the masses by their comradely attitude to them and by thoughtfully meeting their needs. And may every trade union official always and in every area compare his deeds with this Leninist command.

Over 40 million young men and women are united in the Leninist Komsomol. We often say the Komsomol are our successors and the party's helpers. These words are true, very true. Young people who are today 18-25 years old will tomorrow form the backbone of our society. Promotion of the formation of generations of people who are politically active, competent, who love and are good at their work and are ever ready to defend their homeland--this is the most important and chief thing in the work of the Komsomol. On the whole the Komsomol is coping with this task. It has to its credit tens and hundreds of building projects in the most varied regions of the country. The Komsomol has also intensified its participation in running the state and in all public life. This is something to be kept up.

But it is not in our traditions to restrict oneself to praise. It is no secret that in some young people, education and knowledge at times co-exist with political naivete, and professional training with an insufficiently responsible attitude to labor. To a large extent this is the result of insufficient work by the Komsomol. Consequently it is necessary to intensify educational work. I have in mind, Comrade Brezhnev stressed, labor education, moral education and ideological and political education. It is not a question of ensuring that in every Komsomol organization a lively and creative atmosphere is established. It has long been known that one comprehends a truth completely when it has been experienced and not simply taught. And the Komsomol should structure the study of Marxist-Leninist theory in such a way that it should fuse organically with the practical deeds of the Komsomol members, with their own life.

And here very much depends on communists, on you and me, comrades. We have the experience, the conviction, tested by the decades, in the correctness of Marxism-Leninism. And all of this wealth must be passed on to the young people. In this is the reliable guarantee that the Soviet young people will always carry high the banner of communism.

In 1 or 2 minutes we shall continue the reading of the accountability report of the CPSU Central Committee to the congress. [There follows short break during which music is played]

In the fourth section of the report of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev entitled: "The Party, the Vanguard of the Soviet People," it states:

Comrades, the conclusion was made at the 25th congress that in the period of developed socialism the party's role in the life of society is growing. The last 5-year period has demonstrated that his conclusion was undoubtedly correct. It is precisely now in the light of the impressive achievements of the Soviet people that the well known Leninist formulation, the party is in the mind, honor and conscience of our epoch, is perceived even more profoundly. Together with the development of our society and the transformation of its socio-political and cultural face, the party of communist is growing, becoming strong and mature. On the whole in the period under review the CPSU increased by 1.8 million. At present there are 17,480,000 communists in the party. Of these 43.4 percent are workers, 12.8 percent are collective farmers and 43.8 percent are representatives of the technical, scientific and creative intelligentsia, workers in education, health and culture, administration and members of the armed forces.

In the last 5 years the CPSU ranks have been joined by more than 1.5 million of the best representatives of the working class, that is, 59 percent of the whole influx into the party. Among the newly accepted, collective farmers comprised more than 10 percent. The influx of representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia into the party continued. Almost three-fourths of those who joined the CPSU in these years were members of the Lenin Komsomol. The number of those wishing to join the party is increasing. The method for accepting new party members has become more exacting. Better use is made of the period of candidate status to verify the political, practical and moral qualities of those trying to join. Not all withstand such an examination.

In 5 years 91,000 candidates were not accepted as members of the CPSU. This is more or less a normal figure. As has already been noted, the best and foremost representatives of the Soviet people join the party. However, at times, unworthy people get into the CPSU ranks by accident. I will cite one figure, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev continued. Since the 25th congress almost 300,000 people have been excluded from the party for acts incompatible with the title of communist.

It must be stressed with the greatest emphasis that our attitude toward those who behave unworthily, who are in breach of the party statutes and the norms of party morality, has been, is and will be implacable. No favors will be done for anybody when it is a matter of the honor and prestige of our party and the purity of its ranks.

It is precisely this high exactingness which ensures the monolithic unity of the CPSU and its ability to head the Soviet society and confidently to lead the Soviet people on the path to communism.

Improving the Methods of Party Leadership

Comrades, the party congresses which, as it were, set out the general route for the onward movement of Soviet society, are the highest expression of the CPSU's guiding role. At the same time a large role belongs to the Central Committee plenums. Eleven Central Committee plenums have taken place in the period under review. The plenums were convened regularly, discussions were held in a businesslike and self-critical manner; in a word, they followed the Leninist norms and traditions.

As I have already said, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev went on, at the CPSU Central Committee plenums the basic trends of economic development have been annually analyzed. At the same time other problems of a long-term nature have also been discussed. In connection with the draft USSR Constitution in 1977, questions of socialist statehood and our whole social system in conditions of mature socialism were thoroughly examined. The Central Committee plenum held in July 1978 was devoted to the further development of the party's agrarian policy. At the July 1980 Plenum the Soviet Union's positions on main foreign-policy issues and the tasks in the struggle for detente in the worsening international situation were clarified.

In the period under review 237 Politburo sessions have been held. All its work has been concentrated on key points connected with the practical fulfillment of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the Central Committee plenums and with new happenings in domestic and foreign policy. Questions submitted for the examination of the Politburo have been carefully studied in advance. The range of such questions is extraordinarily wide and varied. The degree of complexity of many of them is increasing all the time. In certain instances the Politburo set up special commissions to study thoroughly and to make general conclusions about the things that have happened, as well as to take, as the situation demands, appropriate practical measures.

In the preparation for sessions and during discussions different opinions were expressed--something which is quite natural--and numerous criticisms and proposals were submitted. However all decisions were adopted in a spirit of complete unanimity. The strength of collective leadership lies in this unity. The Politburo is truly the battle headquarters of our multimillion party. It is precisely there that the collective commonsense of the party is accumulated, and there that party policy, which reflects the interests of all Soviet society and all communists and those who do not belong to the party, is formed.

The selection of cadres, the organization and checking of execution, and virtually all current questions of party life--such are basically the range of problems with which the Central Committee Secretariat has been occupied. It has held 250 sessions in the time that has passed.

On the whole, comrades, the work of the plenums of the Politburo and the Secretariat was of a purposeful nature and was marked by a high standard of organization. And this work is built on the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism. The Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee concerned themselves constantly with enhancing the role and responsibility of republican, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party organizations. The state of affairs in local areas was thoroughly studied. The reports of many party committees were examined. Conclusions of significance for the whole party were drawn on the basis of an all-round, painstaking discussion.

There is much that is valuable and instructive in the work of each party organization. I will mention only a few interesting facts, Comrade Brezhnev said. The party organizations of Moscow and Leningrad achieved good results in the development of the creative activity of production collectives and in the communist education of the working people. It was precisely there that many patriotic initiatives were born, which were subsequently supported and which spread throughout the country. The major achievements of grain growers in Kazakhstan and cotton plantation workers in Uzbekistan are connected with the intensification of the work of party organizations in applying a scientific system of land husbandry and leading practice in agricultural production. The work of the Azerbaijan Communist Party in mobilizing the working people to ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the 10th 5-Year Plan tasks merits a positive assessment. The Georgian Communist Party has achieved a considerable increase in the pace of economic and social development in the republic.

In the Communist Parties of the Ukraine and Belorussia there appeared much which was interesting as regards the selection and education of cadres, and enhancing the responsibility of leaders for their specific sector of work. The party organizations of Armenia and Latvia were able to set the labor collectives and all the planning authorities and directorates at all levels on the path of raising the quality of industrial production. Work was stepped up in intensifying production by the communists of Estonia. The Novosibirsk and Sverolovsk Obkoms did much in strengthening the connection between science and production.

The Central Committee supported the competition initiated by the working people of the Don region to master ahead-of-schedule planned capacities, the initiatives of the party organizations of the Kuban and Dnepropetrovsk region to improve the quality of agricultural produce and the experience of the work of labor collectives of the Urals and the Kuzbass in saving metal and fuel and energy resources. The creative initiatives of many party organizations are deserving of a good word at our all-party forum. The richer and more varied local experience, the more fruitful is the work of the party as a whole.

In the period under review the CPSU Central Committee was compelled to subject to impartial criticism the work of certain party committees and to correct their leaders. When this did not help, conclusions regarding their organization were drawn. Of course, the results of the work of the oblast or rayon party organization are the sum of many and very varied factors. But still an energetic and competent party leadership is of decisive importance. If every party organization uses in its sector all reserves and brings the required order to everything, then the matters of the whole country will continue to advance. That is why enhancing the role of obkoms and raykoms is a responsible, serious, and, I would say, constant task, Comrade Brezhnev noted.

In tackling the great and varied tasks of building communism, a primary role belongs to primary party organizations. The CPSU now has 414,000 primary and 457,000 shop party organizations and more than 618,000 party groups.

The Central Committee strove to activate these groups to the maximum, and it required constant attention toward them from local party organs. Primary party organizations are endowed with the right of supervising the activity of the administration. It is important for them to use it more fully and better. Whether the subject under discussion has to do with cadres, the fulfillment of economic plans or the improvement of people's conditions of work and everyday life, the party organizations must display a sense of principle and must not be led along by the administration when it acts incorrectly--in a word, it must firmly pursue a party line. Departmental or bureaucratic barriers still not infrequently prove to be an obstacle on the path to the fulfillment of economic tasks, and not just economic ones. Who should above all struggle to surmount these barriers if not the party committees of ministries and departments? They must more decisively and uncompromisingly stand on guard for the interests of the whole state. More initiative, more sense of principle--that is what one should like to wish them from the congress platform, stressed Leonid Ilich Brezhnev.

Comrades! The essence of party leadership, as Vladimir Ilich Lenin said on many occasions, is selecting people and checking how the job is done. Considerable work was done during the period under review to improve further the qualitative composition and the placing of management cadres and the raising of their qualifications. In line with the instructions of the 25th congress, specialists of the national economy were actively drawn into party work. At the present time, three-quarters of the secretaries of the Central Committees of the communist parties of the union republics and kray and oblast committees and two-thirds of the secretaries of party town and rayon committees have a technical engineering, economic or agricultural education.

This is fine. But one must not fail to take into account the fact that some of the specialists who have entered the party apparatus from production lack sufficient political experience and at times introduce into party organs the methods of economic administration. One must increase the political training of these comrades and help them to acquire the requisite practices of party work. At the same time, in order to become a true party manager, it does not suffice to attend a course at a party school. It is necessary for the comrades being put forward for party management work to immerse themselves, as they say, in the midst of the working people, so that they know from personal experience and not from documents what makes up the lives of our country's workers, peasants and members of the intelligentsia, so that they know their life, their needs and interests.

One should seek to ensure that it is precisely this school, the school of life, the school of practical work among the masses, that should be passed through as a rule by all communists whom we consider as the reserve for promotion. An important task has been and remains the creation of a reliable reserve of cadres. Of great importance from this point of view was restructuring the work of the higher party schools and educational establishments preparing cadres for managing the national economy, in particular setting up the Academy of Social Sciences and the Academy of the National Economy. In the past years 32,000 people have completed training in party educational establishments. Over 240,000 party, administrative and ideological workers have undergone training or courses.

It seems worthwhile to speak separately about the participation of women in management work, party, administrative, economic, etc. It must be admitted that the possibilities of promoting women to responsible posts are still not being fully implemented. Such a situation should be put right.

In the review period the Central Committee increased the attention it paid to checking the implementation of decisions made. We began to listen more often to managers of various ranks, personally responsible for certain aspects of work. The USSR Council of Ministers, ministries and departments, party and administrative organs of republics, krays and oblasts were also directed to do this. The struggle against violations of party and state discipline was stepped up by the Committee of Party Control under the CPSU Central Committee and by the party committees of local party organs. In general, much is being done. But still, checking implementation still remains a bottleneck in the work of a considerable number of party organizations.

As was shown, for example, by the review in the Central Committee of questions of the work of communists of a number of union ministries, many shortcomings in economic activity are the result of absence of a clear system of checking, by a style of management based on paperwork. Unfortunately, not everyone has yet understood the simple truth that the art of management is not to engender and distribute directives on every occasion. Once a decision has been made, its strict implementation in the set period must be achieved. This must be helped by intensification of supervision.

And this control should be implemented systematically and efficiently, simultaneously from above and below. The style and methods of leadership are an important question for the whole party and all the people. To remember this every day and be guided in everything by Leninist norms is the direct duty of any party leader.

Questions of Internal Party Life

Comrades, in beginning the preparations for the 26th party congress, the Central Committee addressed an appeal to all communists to hold a report-back election campaign and discussion of the draft of the Central Committee for the congress, creatively and self-critically, getting as close as possible to life and the specific questions that concern communists.

The work of the party organizations cannot really be effective if party members come to meetings only in order to sit out the prescribed hours and hear out previously scheduled speakers. The party meeting, just like any party committee plenum, is a place where all questions of vital importance must be discussed profoundly and seriously. And it was of course, especially important that the preparation for the congress passed in precisely such a manner.

The progress of the report-back election campaign demonstrated that our party members heard the Central Committee's call and supported it. In most cases the report-back election meetings took place in an atmosphere of high activity. In the primary and workshop party organizations and party groups they were attended by 96 percent of communists and approximately 10 million spoke in debates. The content of these speeches speaks of the communists' sense of responsibility for their work and for everything that is being done in the party and the country. The participants of the meetings, conference and congresses have exactingly evaluated the activity of the election party organs. They subjected to criticism omissions and shortcomings. Many valuable proposals were voiced.

It is this, comrades, that is the collective reason of the party. It is also the single will of the party, an expression of the cohesion of communists around the Central Committee. Democratic centralism is a district norm of the life of the Communist Party. And this means, in particular, a very close liaison between the center and the localities, the leading organs of the party and the masses.

Moreover, this link is double-sided. Letters and suggestions from the working people are of enormous significance as a channel of the live link between the party and the masses. Limitlessly trusting the party, they address it laying bare their hearts, concerning the most urgent questions of social life, work and life, openly sharing their ideas and concerns and criticizing the existing shortcomings.

The Central Committee regards work with letters, a timely reaction to them, as being very important. In the period under review this work has been considerably improved, which was facilitated to no small extent by the establishment of the letters department within the Central Committee apparatus.

Reflecting on letters--and some 1,500 of them arrive at the CPSU Central Committee every day--Leonid Ilich Brezhnev noted--I cannot fail to say the following: Many of them show, unfortunately, serious local failings. Nearly always questions submitted by the working people can and should be resolved by managers of enterprises, by regional and city organizations. A sensitive and attentive attitude toward letters, requests and complaints from citizens must be seen by every party worker and manager as his duty toward the people and toward the party. I emphasize that I mean open and honest letters here.

As for all sorts of anonymous slanders, the party's viewpoint is known here: There should be no room for them in our life. Those who come out with truthful and businesslike criticism have no reason to hide their faces.

Interparty information constitutes an inalienable element of the party's democratic life. The CPSU Central Committee has extensively and efficiently informed local party organs and communists on the questions of domestic and foreign policies, organizational and ideological work. At the same time, the CPSU Central Committee and all party committees have begun to use more actively information from primary party organizations. It helps to take public opinion into account, to have a more concrete picture of the local state of affairs.

Informing all Soviet citizens about party life is a very important matter. Publicity in the work of party organizations is an effective means of strengthening the links between the party and the masses. Much is being done by us in this respect, but most likely there is room for improvement. The directions of the 25th CPSU Congress stimulated the further development of criticism and self-criticism in the party. This positive trend must be further deepened in every way. The spirit of self-criticism and intolerance toward shortcomings must be affirmed in all party organizations. Any attempts at persecution for criticism must be met with the most resolute rebuff. Our position on this question is clearly stated in the party statutes and has also been reflected in the USSR Constitution. No connivance with those clamping down on criticism--this is the demand of the party as well as of the state law.

The Ideological and Political Educational Work of the Party

Comrades! The circumstances in which we all live and work have recently undergone a considerable change. Soviet man has changed, his knowledge has been enriched, his erudition has grown, and his spiritual demands have increased considerably. At the same time the arsenal of means at the disposal of our ideological workers has also expanded. We have a reliable channel of everyday information: 380 million copies of newspapers and periodicals, 75 million televison screens light up daily in our country. And this means that tens of millions of families have the opportunity of daily receiving the required explanations of party policy, new knowledge, and to become enriched both in mind and in spirit.

On the other hand the activity of the propaganda means of our class enemy have increased and his attempts have intensified to exert a corrupting influence upon the consciousness of Soviet people. Are all these new phenomena and circumstances being properly taken into account? Are the enormous possibilities of our propaganda being fully used? There is but one reply to this question: No, not yet fully.

Proceeding from this, the party Central Committee has formulated tasks for improving ideological and political education work. They are outlined in the 26 April 1979 decision of the CPSU Central Committee. This is a long-term document. Essentially it deals with restructuring [perestroyka]--yes, I have not made a slip, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev stressed--it is precisely restructuring many sectors and spheres of ideological work. We must strive to make its content more topical and make its forms correspond to the present-day demands and needs of the Soviet people. It is very important that propaganda should not avoid prickly subjects and should not be afraid of touching on so-called difficult issues. Our party's policies are clear and we are ready to answer any questions arising in the minds of Soviet people. This must be done more boldly, bearing in mind that if we do not answer them, then our country's enemies will try to make use of this to slander socialism.

And another point: All ideological education work must be carried out in a lively and interesting manner without hackneyed expressions and a standard collection of ready formulas: Soviet man is an educated, cultured person, and when people start talking to him in a senseless formal language, using general expressions instead of those specifically connected with life and real facts, he merely turns off the television or radio and lays aside the newspaper. Our party treats the many thousands of Soviet journalists with great trust and highly values their difficult work.

Naturally we are all interested in ensuring that our mass information and propaganda media are always a genuine platform for party and nationwide public opinion. Each article in a newspaper or journal, each broadcast on television or radio should be viewed as a serious conversation with the people, who expect not only a truthful and effective presentation of the facts but also a deep analysis of them and serious generalizations.

We hope that Soviet journalists together with the multimillion strong aktiv of our press will always demonstrate a high social activity and responsibility, guided by Leninist principles and traditions of party journalism.

Words of gratitude must be uttered to the vast army of people, both communists and nonmembers of the party, who carry to the masses the thoughts of the party and explain its policy. They are lecturers and propagandists, agitators and rapporteurs. Their work is, as a rule, carried out on a voluntary basis and in their free time. They are engaged upon a useful deed necessary to the people. To all such people: Thank you very much.

At the same time, however, there is some food for thought here as well. Have not our forms of large-scale political work become too rigid? After all, it was one thing to address our people when they were not yet sufficiently trained and had little education, and it is something quite different to address the Soviet man of today. One should probably think about this theme and do so thoroughly. In whom else, if not in ideological workers, must a feeling for what is new be inherent to the greatest degree?

During the period under review much attention was paid to party study. Nearly 23 million people are studying within the system of party education; practically everywhere the system of a whole day devoted to political study has been introduced. The creative search in the sphere of educational all-union scientific and practical conferences was devoted to the exchange of leadership experience. The conferences were held in recent years in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Baku, Tbilisi and Chelyabinsk. The further activization of this whole activity was encouraged by the October 1979 all union ideological workers conference.

We have examples of the creative organization of party studies in a number of production collectives, for example in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, the Donbass. The experience of holding seminars on methodological problems of social and natural sciences in the Novosibirsk scientific center is worthy of acknowledgment.

Probably the main issue in party education is the result achieved. What do we want to achieve? We want party policy to merge with the activity of the masses, party education to teach, quoting Vladimir Ilich Lenin, to act in a way which is really required by communism. In other words, it is a question of achieving in actual fact unity between the party's ideological-theoretical, politico-educational, organizational and economic work. This is our aim. However, it is not always and everywhere realized.

Up until now theoretical training in many schools and party education seminars has not been sufficiently well connected with the resolution of urgent social and production problems which are worrying people. Phenomena of formalism and an excessively scholarly approach which reduce the interest of those taking theoretical training have not yet been overcome. Evidently it is necessary to make a decisive turn toward improving the quality of training, primarily of communists, and not to get carried away too much with expanding the numbers attending seminars. And this task cannot be resolved without a more fundamental approach to the selection, training and timely informing of our propaganda cadres, for the propagandist is the chief figure in the system of party education. What seminars, political schools and universities will be like depends to a large extent upon him--whether they are to be a place where boredom sometimes reigns, where the prescribed time is served, or, on the contrary, whether they become everywhere true centers of lively party thought and speech.

It is on the party's ideological and propaganda aktiv that people's attitudes to party education primarily depend. People should themselves be drawn toward it in order collectively to discuss topical problems of party theory and policy and to receive answers to questions which concern everybody, and to expand their ideological-theoretical erudition. The ideological-propaganda party aktiv has the primary role in further developing the Marxist-Leninist instruction and education of the masses and their creative abilities to resolve the tasks of constructing communism.

Comrades, the Marxist-Leninist party cannot fulfill its role unless it devotes due attention to assessing all that has gone before, to making general conclusions about the new events of life and to creatively developing Marxist-Leninist theory. We have always considered this task to be an extremely important one, and we have devoted great attention to tackling it in the period under review.

Since the 25th congress, the party's theoretical arsenal has been augmented by a number of important generalizations and conclusions. From that which has been accomplished in the field of theory, one should first and foremost name the development of the conception of advanced socialism. Guided by this concept, the party defined and specified ways and periods for realizing our policy objectives and determined the strategy and tactics for a lengthy, historic period. Party documents and scientific research in recent years reveal various aspects of mature socialism. Workers have been created which analyze the experience of world socialism and reveal the natural laws of the world revolutionary process. There are some sound studies of the history of the international workers' movement, the contemporary stage of the general crisis of capitalism and the development of state monopoly capitalism. Serious steps have been taken in the study of contemporary international relations. In a word, a great deal of work has been done, and it merits recognition. But by no means everything in the field of social sciences gives rise to satisfaction. The trend to scholastic theorization, which was mentioned at the 25th congress, has still not been overcome. Philosophers quite often prefer to prove what has already been proved instead of comprehending what is new in life. Quite a few problems awaiting solution have mounted up in the political economy of socialism. The social consequences of the scientific-technical revolution require more attention. Phenomena in the political life of society should be analysed more profoundly and boldly. Public opinion is still being poorly studied. And this is only a part of the questions which should be examined.

Comrades! The Central Committee considers it necessary to present for discussion by the congress yet another major question of all-party significance. In the period under review all the changes in the country and all our acts in the international arena have been carried out in accordance with the policy directives of the party.

The present program of the CPSU correctly reflects, on the whole, the laws of social development. But 20 years have elapsed since it was adopted. During this time great experience has been accumulated in socialist and communist construction in the USSR. This experience undeniably testifies to the fact that our movement toward communism is taking place via a stage of advanced socialist society. This, as has already been noted, is a necessary, natural and lengthy period in the history of the establishment of communist structure. This conclusion was made and worked out by the party in recent years, and it should undoubtedly be reflected in the appropriate form in the party program.

Obviously there must be clear elucidation in the program of changes which have taken place in the structure of our economy, and long term tasks must be stressed and more precisely defined. It goes without saying that we must proceed in this from Lenin's directions that the program only establishes the basic principles. It is impossible and inappropriate to predict particulars in it.

In the international arena also, there have appeared many new and fundamentally important phenomena and processes. In the socialist world this has been the steady coming together of the fraternal countries and the development of economic integration. Lessons must obviously be learned from the difficulties encountered on the path of development of the socialist countries. The party program should also reflect such fundamentally important phenomena of international life as the abolition of the colonial system of imperialism and the growing political role in the world arena of dozens of young states, many of which set themselves the goal of development in the direction of socialism.

It goes without saying that certain new phenomena in the world of capitalism must be understood, and in particular, the peculiarities of the present stage in the general crisis of capitalism and the sharp rise in the role of the military-industrial complex and transnational corporations. Our party has accumulated enormous experience in the struggle for peace and the relaxation of international tension. Both the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence have been enriched as a result. Taking into account all that has been said, we should obviously introduce the necessary changes and additions into the existing program. If this proposal receives the support of delegates to the congress then it will be possible to entrust the Central Committee with the preparation of a new edition of the CPSU program.

Comrades, at this minute the accountability report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress, being delivered by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is coming to an end at the Kremlin Hall of Congresses. Attention! We are going over to the Kremlin Hall of Congresses:

[Applause] [Brezhnev] Comrades, the passage of time is swift. At today's congress we are to discuss the party's plans and the country's plans for the 11th 5-Year Plan and through 1990. To a large extent the outlook of our country at the end of the 20th century, on the threshold of the third millenium, will defend in practice on what we decide now. The 20th century has brought more changes than any past century, and not one country has made a more important contribution to these changes than the USSR, motherland of the Great October, [applause] the first country of victorious socialism. And now for the seventh decade it is under the unconquerable Leninist banner. [applause]

There is no country or group of countries, there is no ideological or political trend that has not felt to some extent the influence of socialism. Such is the reality of the end of the 20th century. A new life is not born easily; the path of social progress is difficult and sometimes painful. But the more majestic the feats of socialist society's builders and defenders, the more significant and outstanding are its achievements. Our Communist Party, we Soviet communists have been allocated the enviable role of being situated at the source of the socialist transformation of life. It has been our fate to receive the honorable mission of defending and protecting peace. [applause] Our aim is splendid: communism. And each labor success, each year of heroic achievements, each 5-year plan period, brings us closer to this destination. It is from this point of view that the party assesses the coming 5-year period. There is much to do. There are great and complex tasks to resolve, but it is within our power to resolve them, and resolve them we will! [applause]

Yes, the Soviet people look to tomorrow with confidence. But their optimism is not the self-confidence of the spoiled darlings of destiny. Our people know that all that they have has been created by their own labor, and defended by their own blood. And we are optimists because we believe in the power of labor, because we believe in our country and in our people. We are optimists because we believe in our party, and we know the path which it indicates is the only true one. [thunderous applause]

Honor and glory to the CPSU, party of the builders of communism! [thunderous applause]

May our great motherland, the USSR, continue to strengthen and prosper! [thunderous applause]

Long live peace! [applause] Long Live Communism! [prolonged applause]

Comparison of Brezhnev Report

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0600 GMT on 24 February carries the announcer-read "text" of Brezhnev's report of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered at 23 February opening of 26th CPSU Congress in Moscow, making the following comparisons possible:

Throughout the item, in the 24 February version all references to "Leonid Brezhnev continued," "Leonid Brezhnev notes," and similar interjections are omitted.

On page 5, in the fourth paragraph, after the second sentence, the rebroadcast adds the new passage: "It opened up a higher stage in the development of socialist democracy. The participation of Soviet people in running the affairs of society and state is becoming increasingly active."

On the same page, in the fifth paragraph, in the ninth line, after the passage"...of fresh victories." the rebroadcast adds: "This is shown by the revolutions in Ethiopia, Afghanistan and Nicaragua, and the overthrow of the antipopular monarchical regime in Iran."

On the same page in the same paragraph, in the seventeenth line, after the phrase "...of the world." the rebroadcast adds the following new passage: "Together with other peace-loving states and realistically-thinking circles in the West, we have carried on the struggle against the arms race during the period under review."

On the same page, in the sixth paragraph, in the second line, the rebroadcast substitutes the following new passage, omitting the rest of the paragraph and the editorial notation: "As a whole, comrades, the period after the 25th congress was not an easy one. There were no few difficulties both in the economic development of the country and in the international situation. All the same, the tasks that had been set were achieved. This is further proof of the enormous possibilities of the socialist system, the selflessness of the Soviet people, and the correctness of the principled, class policy of our Leninist party.

"On the International Policy of the CPSU

"Our struggle to strengthen peace and to deepen international detente is, above all, a struggle to ensure for the Soviet people the necessary external conditions for the solution of the constructive tasks that lie before them. By this we..."

On page 22, for the first sentence of the sixth paragraph, the rebroadcast substitutes the following:

"The development of the country in the years 1971-1980 is shown in the following figures. The main indices of the economic and social development of the USSR in the 1970's in billions of rubles--comparable prices:

"Gross Social Product: 1970--637; 1980--1,061; 1980 as percentage of 1970--167 percent.

"National income used for consumption and accumulation: 1970--282; 1980--437; 1980 as percentage of 1970--155 percent.

"Resources of national income directed to consumption and nonproductive construction: 1970--219; 1980--354; 1980 as percentage of 1970--162 percent.

"Industrial output: 1970--352; 1980--627; 1980 as percentage of 1970--178 percent.

"Agricultural output--average annual production: 1970--100.4; 1980--123.7; 1980 as percentage of 1970--123 percent.

"Capital investment: 1970--80.6; 1980--133.5; 1980 as percentage of 1970--166 percent.

"Fixed productive assets--at end of year: 1970--531; 1980--1,149; 1980 as percentage of 1970--216 percent.

"Freight turnover of all types of transportation--1 billion tons-kms: 1970--3,829; 1980--6,165; 1980 as percentage of 1970--161 percent.

"Retail foods turnover--1 billion rubles in comparable prices: 1970--158.1; 1980--268.5; 1980 as percentage of 1970--170 percent.

"Social consumption funds: 1970--63.9; 1980--116.5; 1980 as percentage of 1970--182 percent."

On page 24, in the fourth paragraph, for the passage from "...10th 5-Year Plan..." to "...The sociopolitical significance..." the rebroadcast adds:

"The following table provides a general picture of what has been achieved:

"The basic indices of the economic and social development of the USSR in the 10th 5-Year Plan compared to the 9th 5-Year Plan--average yearly levels in billions of rubles--comparable prices:

"Gross social product: 9th 5-Year Plan--769; 10th 5-Year Plan--989; 10th 5-Year Plan as percentage of 9th 5-Year Plan--129 percent.

"National income used for consumption and accumulation: 9th 5-Year Plan--329; 10th 5-Year Plan--409; 10th 5-Year Plan as percentage of 9th 5-Year Plan--124 percent.

"Resources of national income directed to consumption and nonproductive construction: 9th 5-Year Plan--258; 10th 5-Year Plan--325; 10th 5-Year Plan as percentage of 9th 5-Year Plan--126 percent.

"Industrial output: 9th 5-Year Plan--438; 10th 5-Year Plan--581; 10th 5-Year Plan as percentage of 9th 5-Year Plan--133 percent.

"Agricultural output: 9th 5-Year Plan--113.7; 10th 5-Year Plan--123.7; 10th 5-Year Plan as percentage of 9th 5-Year Plan--109 percent.

"Capital investment: 9th 5-Year Plan--98.6; 10th 5-Year Plan--126.8; 10th 5-Year Plan as percentage of 9th 5-Year Plan--129 percent.

"Freight turnover of all types of transportation--billion ton-kms: 9th 5-Year Plan--4,625; 10th 5-Year Plan--5,833; 10th 5-Year Plan as percentage of 9th 5-Year Plan--126 percent.

"Retail goods turnover in billions of rubles in comparable prices: 9th 5-Year Plan--191.4; 10th 5-Year Plan--246.1; 10th 5-Year Plan as percentage of 9th 5-Year Plan--129 percent.

"Social consumption funds: 9th 5-Year Plan--78.6; 10th 5-Year Plan--105.4; 10th 5-Year Plan as percentage of 9th 5-Year Plan--134 percent."

On page 34, the Moscow Domestic rebroadcast omits the first sentence of the fifth paragraph.

On page 43, in the third paragraph, in the ninth line, the rebroadcast substitutes "the state" for "society" making the phrase read: "...as possible from the state. It is on...."

On page 46, omit the editorial notation at the end of the second paragraph.

On page 47, in the second paragraph, the first line, the rebroadcast substitutes the number "236" for "237."

Grishin at Evening Session

LD231947 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Feb 81

[Text] Attention comrades! We go over to the Moscow Palace of Congresses.

Now at the 26th CPSU Congress the evening session is underway. The delegates and guests welcomed CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Leonid Ilich Brezhnev and members of the party Central Committee Politburo with stormy, prolonged applause. As has already been reported, CPSU General Secretary Comrade Brezhnev delivered the CPSU Central Committee report about the party's routine tasks in the field of internal and foreign policy. The evening session heard the CPSU Central Auditing Commission's report, delivered by its chairman, Comrade Sizov. The congress delegates then started discussing the CPSU Central Committee and CPSU Central Auditing Commission reports. Here in particular is what was said from the congress rostrum by Comrade Grishin, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the party's Moscow Gorkom:

[Begin Grishin recording] Comrades: The CPSU Central Committee report which was delivered by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev is at the center of attention of millions of people in our country and abroad as an event of worldwide significance. The congress is an important milestone in the struggle of the party and the people for the triumph of communism. The CPSU Central Committee report, given its profound content and the scale of the tasks put forward in it, has produced a strong, unforgettable impression, has aroused feelings of pride in our party and country and in its great achievements. The report sums up the result of the CPSU's multifaceted activity, the selfless labor of the Soviet people in the 10th 5-Year Plan period and the seventies. An all-round analysis was given of the international situation, the world revolutionary process, the internal life of the country, and the upcoming and long-term tasks of communist construction in the struggle for peace and security of the peoples were clearly developed and the party's general line for the eighties was delineated.

The CPSU Central Committee report is an outstanding document of creative Marxism-Leninism. It arms the party with new theoretical conclusions and generalizations and inspires the Soviet people to further labor achievements.

In the report-back period the role of the Communist Party has grown as the leading, directing force of Soviet society, the political leader of the working class and of the whole of our people. It carries high the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism and unwaveringly follows the line worked out bny the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses. This line has convincingly demonstrated its correctness and its great vital force, and has ensured unwavering progress in all fields of the life of Soviet society. [end recording]

Comrade Grishin went on to say:

[Begin Grishin recording] In the past 5 years significant progress has been ensured in all directions of the country's economic development, a great social program has been fulfilled, and the Soviet people have started to live even better, better provided for materially and richer spiritually. Socialist democracy is developing successfully, the ideological and political unity of the Soviet people, the unbreakable friendship of the peoples of the USSR, and their cohesion around the Communist Party and its Central Committee have been strengthened yet further. The successes of the CPSU's internal and foreign policy are the result of the huge political-organizational work of our party, its Central Committee, and the Central Committee Politburo led by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, the oustanding political and state figure, the true continuer of the great cause of Lenin, the fiery fighter for peace and communism. [applause] His selfless service to the party, motherland and people have earned for Leonid Ilich profound respect and lofty authority in our country, in the fraternal countries of socialism and from all honorable people in the world. [applause]

All practical directions of CPSU policy and the working out and implementatin of large-scale measures on the key questions of the development of Soviet society, improving the life of the people, and the active struggle for peace and international security are connected with the name of Comrade Brezhnev and his tireless activity. Unanimously approving and warmly supporting the policy of the party, the Soviet people express profound gratitude to the Central Committee, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and to Leonid Ilich Brezhnev for all that is being done in the name of the prospering of Soviet society and of strengthening peace on earth. [applause] [end recording]

TASS on Grishin

LD231859 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 23 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow, 23 Feb (TASS)--"The foreign policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union enjoys wholehearted support of the Soviet people," said Viktor Grishin, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU, addressing the 26th CPSU Congress which opened in Moscow today.

In the complicated international situation, said Viktor Grishin, when aggressiveness of the policy of imperialism, above all of American imperialism, sharply increased, the CPSU Central Committee, its Political Bureau "firmly conduct a principled, well-considered policy which is geared to the interests of preservation of detente, consolidation of peace. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union resolutely opposes imperialism's attempts to undermine socialism, the national liberation movement of peoples, to heighten tension, to attain military superiority to the detriment of security of our country, of the whole of the socialist community."

"Our party's new constructive proposals, aimed at preventing the threat of war, at ensuring international security, which have been made in the main report, are being warmly approved," the speaker stressed. "These proposals develop and supplement the peace programme elaborated by the previous CPSU congresses, are a new major contribution to the cause of the struggle for peace and cooperation between peoples."

"For its 26th congress the CPSU prepared a comprehensive programme of action," Viktor Grishin said. "The Soviet people warmly supports this programme which fully meets its vital interests."

"Expressing the thoughts and sentiments of the communists, of the working people of the capital, the delegation of the Moscow city organisation of the CPSU, which represents at the congress more than a million party members, wholly and entirely approves of the political line and practical activities of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Leonid Brezhnev, all provisions and conclusions of the report."

Speaking of economic and social development of Moscow, Viktor Grishin pointed out that its economy which is a component part of the whole national economic complex of the country, has reached a new, higher level.

In the Tenth Five-Year Plan period major activities were carried out to further improve the living standards of the working people. Production of consumer goods went up by 17 percent. Workers and employees had their wages and salaries increased. A total area of 22 million square metres of housing was built in the capital. The plan of construction of schools, hospitals, cultural and welfare institutions was fulfilled. The master plan of development of Moscow is being put into life. New residential districts were built in the city, highways and communications were constructed, 70 Olympic structures were erected. Moscow became even more well-appointed, to live in. A new step was made in turning the capital into an exemplary communist city.

"To enhance struggle against bourgeois ideology is an important task of the party organisations," the reporter said. "World imperialism and its accomplices broaden hostile propaganda aimed at undermining the ideological foundations of socialism . Our class enemies cast aspersions on the policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, they try to influence unsteady people, to inculcate in them alien views, morals and manners. But all these attempts are doomed to failure. The Soviet people displays high socialist consciousness and boundless devotion to the party."

"The party organisations," Viktor Grishin said, "attach great significance to enhancing vigilance against enemy designs, to fostering the people in the spirit of ideological staunchness, the ability to give a well-reasoned rebuff to ideological subversive activities of imperialist and revisionist propaganda. Perfecting ideological work, the party organisation of the capital will continue in the future persistently work to enhance ideological education of the masses, to improve the work in moulding the new man, in asserting the socialist way of life."

Shcherbitskiy at Evening Session

LD231920 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 23 Feb 81

["Part" of speech by Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, at 23 February evening session of the 26th CPSU Congress at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades! The 26th congress of our Leninist party, which is being held in an atmosphere of complete unanimity and enthusiasm, will undoubtedly go down in history as truly the main political event of the eighties. This historic significance of the congress is predetermined above all by the fact that in the review report, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, the general secretary of the party Central Committee, gave a comprehensive answer to many important questions of the present day which profoundly disturb mankind, clearly set forth the latest large-scale tasks which meet the vital interests of the peoples and indicated specific ways to solving them.

Comrades, we are of course unanimous that the review report is an outstanding document of the creative work of Marxism-Leninism and a new, weighty contribution to the theory and practice of scientific communism. [applause]

The report convincingly shows that our country's socioeconomic development is fully in accord with the course worked out at the 25th CPSU Congress. The titanic creative work of the party and the people is reflected with great impressive force. During these unforgettable days, comrades, our hearts are again and again filled with a feeling of warm and irreversible love for our remarkable homeland and a feeling of joy and pride in our talented, industrious people and our great party of Lenin. [applause]

The delegation of the Ukrainian Communist Party, representing at our congress 2,934,000 communists, completely approves all the points, conclusions and tasks set out in the review report and approves the consistent political line and purposeful, efficient work of the party Central Committee, which is undoubtedly deserving of the highest esteem. [applause]

Comrades! As was stressed in the review report, the party's strategic course toward the consistent rise in the people's standard of living has been embodied and further developed in the draft guidelines which have found unanimous approval and support in our republic, as they have throughout the country. In the course of the all-popular discussion of this document, which contains a majestic program of peaceful construction, our people, both communists and nonparty, have stressed with profound satisfaction that the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo headed by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev is firmly and unshakeably implementing the Leninist party policy both at home and abroad. [applause] At the report-back and election party organization conferences which were held, the communists noted that the head of our party and state, a true Leninist and sturdy fighter for peace, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, has won the genuine gratitude of true revolutionaries, lofty authority in broad state and business circles and the deepest respect of all people of good will throughout the world. [applause] We all know that the activities of the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo, the Secretariat of the Central Committee and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, personally, are a remarkable example of the realization in practice of the Leninist style, of Lenin's behests, (?norms) and principles of party life. [applause] For this reason the Soviet people are confident that the rudder of the state is in reliable hands. [applause] This gives us firm confidence that our country will continue to advance on the course set forth, that all the party's plans will be successfully implemented. [applause]

TASS Version

LD232218 Moscow TASS in English 1940 GMT 23 Feb 81

[Text] Moscow, 23 Feb (TASS)--The 26th CPSU Congress will go down in history as truly the main political event of the eighties, said today, speaking at the congress, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Vladimir Shcherbitskiy.

The delegates from the Communist Party of the Ukraine, he said, representing at the congress 2,934,000 communists, wholly and fully approve all the provisions, conclusions and tasks expounded in the main report, the consistent policy line and the purposeful effective activity of the CPSU Central Committee.

In the course of the discussion by the people of the draft guidelines for the development of the country, containing a grandiose programme of peaceful construction, communists and nonparty members stressed with profound satisfaction that the CPSU Central Committee, its Politbureau headed by Leonid Brezhnev, firmly and steadily implement the Leninist internal and foreign policy of the party.

During the reporting on the activities and the elections in the party organizations, the communists pointed out that the leader of the party and the state, a true Leninist and a staunch fighter for peace Leonid Brezhnev has gained in the entire planet the sincere appreciation of genuine revolutionaries, the high prestige and authority among the broad state and business circles, a most profound respect of all the people of good will. The entire activity of the Central Committee of the CPSU, its Politbureau and the Secretariat, of Leonid Brezhnev personally--is a remarkable example of a practical implementation of the Leninist style, Lenin's behests, of the norms and principles of party life. That is why the Soviet people are confident that the helm of the political leadership of the state is in reliable hands.

In characterising the development of the Soviet Ukraine in the tenth five-year period Vladimir Shcherbitskiy stressed that, like the whole of the Soviet Union, it made a major step in the development of productive forces, improving all the aspects of social life, raising the culture and the well-being of the people. The industrial output increased almost by one third.

The value of industrial output produced over and above the plans is 4.8 billion roubles. The gross agricultural putout produced is 11 percent more than in the previous five-year period. The social programme has been fulfilled.

The successes of the Soviet Ukraine are the result of the selfless and creative work of labor collectives, a vigorous and purposeful activity of party organizations, of constant assistance of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government, a close businesslike cooperation of all the fraternal union republics.

In implementing the task of transferring of the economy on the preferentially intensive path of development and considering that not all the targets of the previous five-year period have been implemented, the speaker stressed that we shall concentrate efforts on a more rational utilization of the economic potential, a further acceleration of the scientific and technological progress. A priority importance is attached to the implementation of the programme-oriented method of planning.

The report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th party congress, Vladimir Shcherbitskiy said, notes the major importance of the further development of heavy industry, and above all, of its basic branches, a substantial renovation of industrial capacities, elaboration and implementation of the food programme and the need to make the plan discipline more stringent.

The speaker paid much attention to the questions of the foreign-policy activities of the CPSU Central Committee. We shall, he said, continue to preserve as the apple of our eye the unbreakable friendship and the sacred unity of all the nations and nationalities of the country, because it is in this unbreakable cohesion, in the tested leadership of the party, in the firm belief in the communist ideals that our invincible strength resides.

The Communist Party of the Ukraine is and will ever remain a militant and reliable support for its Central Committee. The communists and the people of the Soviet Ukraine will do everything to implement the historical decisions that will be adopted by the 26th congress of the Leninist party.